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BY

DR. J. F. RÄBIGER,

ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRESLAU.

Translated,

With Additions to the History and Literature,

BY THE

REV. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A.,

FINDHORN.

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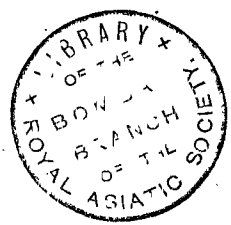
VOL. II.



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CONTENTS.

SECOND OR SPECIAL PART OF THEOLOGIC.

The Four Divisions of Theology.

FIRST DIVISION—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

SEC.		PAGE
23.	Introduction to and Distribution of Exegetical Theology,	3
24.	Biblical Hermeneutics,	13
25.	Knowledge of the Biblical Languages (Linguistics),	26
26.	Biblical Criticism,	40
27.	Jewish Archæology or Antiquities,	52
28.	Jewish History,	58
29.	Biblical Isagogics or Introduction to the Old and New Testaments,	75
30.	Exegesis,	91
31.	Biblical Theology,	101
32.	The Three Divisions of the Theological History of Religion,	109

SECOND DIVISION—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

33.	Introduction to and Division of Historical Theology,	177
34.	Church History,	183
35.	Periods of Church History— (*a*) Catholicism of Ancient Time,	189
36.	Continuation. (*b*) Roman Catholicism of Middle Ages,	207
37.	Continuation. (*c*) Protestantism and Catholicism,	231
38.	Subordinate Branches of Church History— Missions, etc.,	257
39.	Continuation. History of Doctrines, etc.,	271

THIRD DIVISION—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SEC.		PAGE
40.	Introduction to and Distribution of Systematic Theology,	297
41.	The Theory of Religion,	307
42.	Dogmatics,	330
43.	Ethics,	362

FOURTH DIVISION—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

44.	Introduction to and Distribution of Practical Theology,	374
45.	Theory of the Church Organization,	390
46.	Theory of Worship,	400
47.	Science of Church Culture,	410
48.	Ecclesiastical Didactics,	417

SECOND OR SPECIAL PART OF THEOLOGIC.

THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF THEOLOGY.

CONTENTS OF SPECIAL PART OF THEOLOGIC.

Secs.		
23–32,	. . .	Exegetical Theology.
33–39,	. . .	Historical Theology.
40–43,	. . .	Systematic Theology.
44–48,	. . .	Practical Theology.

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FIRST DIVISION.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

§ 23. INTRODUCTION TO AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE Christian religion, which forms the confession of the Church and the subject of theology, is given to the Church and to theology in the revelation of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus appears in the midst of His own people as the Sent of God, as the Messiah or Christ, by whom a new religious life is to be founded among men. As soon as He made known among those around by word and deed the fulness of the divine life which dwelt within Him, His personality began to exercise a mighty influence upon those of His contemporaries who recognised in Him the Sent of God, and who, believing in Him, and in the spirit which they had received from Him, had become His followers. Like every other founder of a religion, Christ is also the founder of a Church. He Himself and His first disciples form the primitive Christian Church. After the death of Jesus, commissioned by their Master and urged on by their own zeal, the first disciples, and soon also others as well, won to be labourers together with Christ, spread the knowledge of Christ among ever-widening circles. While Judea and the Jewish

race formed the cradle of the new life, it nevertheless spread quickly far beyond these boundaries. The small circle of the Palestinian disciples soon widened out into a multitude of Jewish and Gentile Christian communities, which, in consequence of professing the self-same faith, were bound together into one whole, as a community of the confessors of Christ. In this perfectly free and spiritual manner, simply by means of the living word, and by means of surrender to the Spirit speaking in that word, the primitive Christian Church was called into existence. In consequence, however, of its further extension it very soon became necessary to commit to writing the sayings and the doings of Jesus. Seeing that the apostles could not possibly conduct their work personally by means of the living word, they were obliged to spread the knowledge of Christ by means of Scripture, and especially to maintain their connection with the Churches which had been founded by them through the writing of Epistles, so that by degrees those writings came into existence which are now collected together in the New Testament. These writings, therefore, had gone forth from the already existing Church, and are not to be regarded as the foundation of that Church. Rather the fact of Christ Himself and the new life in God founded by Him are the foundations upon which the Christian fellowship rests and from which its historical development proceeds. To the post-apostolic Churches, however, the apostolic writings must fill the place of the first living word. Proceeding from those who had direct intercourse with Christ, or at least with the immediate circle of His disciples, they had for the Church of following ages a peculiar value, as the original expression of the first faith in Christ and of the spirit proceeding from Him, and as also containing the record of the accepted apostolic preaching, by means of which the revelation of Christ had been communicated to them.

But the same God, who had last revealed Himself in His Son Christ, in earlier ages had placed Himself in an altogether

special relationship to that people among whom His Son was born. From among all peoples God chose the Jewish race for His own peculiar possession, and concluded a covenant with them, inasmuch as He revealed to them His will, and laid the race under obligation to render obedience to His will. The revelations, which from the beginning were granted to this people by God, were also put on record in writing, and, as holy writings given them by God, they were collected together by the Jews for use in divine service in the Old Testament. And inasmuch as the early Christian Churches had sprung out of Judaism, they too at the first need the Old Testament for their edification precisely as it had been used in the synagogue. It was after the appearing of Christ that the Old Testament was first understood by them in the true light of Christian knowledge, as the great prophecy concerning Christ, as the old covenant which was ended by the introduction of the new, as the old law which was brought to a close in the new law of Christ. As, however, the apostolic writings and the other early Christian literature were getting into circulation, it became necessary for various reasons to gather together, after the example of the Jews, the apostolic writings into one collection, like the Old Testament. After long hesitation as to what writings, among the many that had come into use in the Churches, were genuinely apostolic, and should, as such, be received into the collection, it was decided finally in the fourth century that the volume of the apostolic writings should have a recognised place, and be bound up with the Old Testament and the Jewish Apocrypha, which had been added thereto from the Alexandrian translation. From this canon the Christian apocryphal writings, which had been in use as books of edification, were excluded. This decision was come to, in the Eastern Church, mainly by means of the Synod of Laodicea in the year 363, and, in the Western Church, mainly by means of the influence of Augustine at the Synod of Hippo in the year 393, and of Carthage in the year

397.[1] The two Testaments are now recognised as the one divine revelation, and as the sacred canon for the Christian faith, and for the Christian life. This canon of the early Church is, in its entire range, acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church, and, confessionally at least, by the Greek Church also;[2] while, on the other hand, it is accepted by the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, with the exception of the Old Testament Apocrypha, to which there is attributed no canonical rank, but only a certain value for private use.[3] The principal Christian Churches are agreed in this, that they look upon Holy Scripture as the source of revelation, but they differ from one another inasmuch as they entertain different views as to its significance for the Church. According to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Greek doctrine, the authority of the Church is placed above the authority of Scripture, and the use of Scripture is confined to the establishment of doctrine. From this it follows, that the reading of Scripture is forbidden to the laity, and its exposition is subjected to the superintendence of the Church. On the other hand, according to the Protestant doctrine, Holy Scripture, by reason of its divine character, possesses the highest authority in the Church, and has the vocation of contributing to the edification of the whole Church by regularly promoting the knowledge of the word of God. The exposition of Scripture, therefore, is not dependent upon an ecclesiastical authority, but it expounds itself to the believer who reads it and investigates it, because

[1] Compare L. Diestel, Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche, Jena 1869, p. 16 ff. A. Hilgenfield, Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Leipzig 1875, p. 29 ff. [Bleek's Introduction to the Old Testament. London 1869, vol. ii. p. 315 ff. Keil's Introduction to the Old Testament. Edinburgh 1870, vol. ii. p. 347 ff. Westcott's History of the Canon of the New Testament. 5th edition. London 1881. Professor Charteris, Canonicity: a Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament. Edinburgh 1880.]

[2] Compare W. Gass, Symbolik der griechischen Kirche. Berlin 1872, p. 97 ff.

[3] Compare G. F. Oehler, Lehrbuch der Symbolik. Tübingen 1876, p. 240 ff. [Winer's Confessions of Christendom, Edin. 1873, pp. 37–62; compare especially p. 60.]

the living Holy Spirit in the word certifies immediately its contents to the spirit of the believer as divine saving truth. Consequently it is also the only standard according to which the public faith of the Church is to be established and to be judged, and in virtue of this dogmatic use on the part of Protestant orthodoxy it has been elevated, by means of the dogma of revelation and inspiration, into an infallible and absolutely distinct authority.[1]

These Old and New Testament writings form the principal subject of exegetical theology. Usually exegetical theology is made to embrace the sum-total of all that "which has reference to the exposition and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments."[2] In such a definition, however, neither the task of exegetical theology is rightly stated, nor even is a distinctive point of view gained, from which the separate branches of exegetical theology may be determined and arranged. To expound and interpret Scripture is certainly the chief business of exegetical theology, but this is nevertheless only a means to an end, which it has as the first and fundamental division of theological science, namely, to recognise and set forth Christianity in its historical originality upon the ground of the literary sources which it has at its command.[3] Its task, therefore, is a purely historical one. It has to make, not a churchly, but a historical, use of the biblical writings. Without calling in question or disputing the significance which these writings have for the Church, exegetical theology must at first look away altogether from their ecclesiastical importance as sources of revelation, and from their use for edification and for doctrine, and must regard them as the literary documents, by the help of which it has to solve its historical problems.

[1] Compare § 16 of the present work ; also Oehler, Symbolik, p. 246 ff.

[2] Hagenbach, Encyclopædie, § 35. [Translation by Crooks and Hurst, p. 146.] Lange, Encyclopædie, p. 91.

[3] Compare § 20 of the present work.

Exegetical theology, therefore, has to set the biblical writings, as a historical product, under the point of view of a historical occurrence and of a historical communication. When in the New Testament it meets with Christianity as an original religious life, it nevertheless, at the same time, reduces this to its historical elements. As a new religious consciousness, which makes its appearance among a particular people, it is connected with the whole development of this people, and can be rightly understood only in connection with the history of that development. From this historical point of view, the Old Testament has to be joined in the closest manner with the New, and has even to leave out of sight the distinction which has been made by the doctrine of the Church between the canonical and apocryphal writings of the Old and New Testaments. Whether any value for practical use is to be attributed to the Apocrypha may indeed from the standpoint of the Church be questioned;[1] but that the apocryphal writings are of the greatest historical importance for exegetical theology, must be admitted as beyond all dispute. And indeed this statement applies not only to the Apocrypha appended to the Alexandrian translation of the Old Testament, but also to the whole range of extra-canonical writings, which took their rise under later Judaism and within the bosom of the early Christian Church. These writings, on the one hand, prove themselves to be a valuable auxiliary in the way of leading up to a better understanding of the canonical writ-

[1] Ph. F. Keerl, Das Wort Gottes und die Apocryphen des Alten Testaments. Leipzig 1853. Fr. Bleek, Ueber die Stellung der Apocryphen des Alten Testaments im christlichen Kanon. Abhandlung in den Stud. und Krit. Jahrg. 1853. 2, p. 267 ff. [While Bleek took a moderate view, Keerl opposed vigorously the practice of binding the Apocrypha with the Old Testament. Stier and Hengstenberg, on the other hand, wrote treatises, both of them published in 1853, in favour of retaining the Apocrypha in the Bible. This subject was thoroughly discussed in Scotland in the years 1828, 1829; Robert Haldane and Dr. Andrew Thomson being the leaders of the opposition to the insertion of the Apocrypha in the publications of the Bible Society. The best account of this controversy is to be found in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor of that date, of which Dr. Andrew Thomson was editor.]

ings, and on the other hand, they fill important blanks in the historical development, and frequently bring out historical coincidences which could not have been found from the canonical scriptures, or at least may contribute to the vindication of the high value of those canonical writings. If deprived of the use of these apocryphal writings, theology would not be in a position to accomplish the purely historical task, which has been assigned to it in its first division. Thus a free and wide horizon opens up before exegetical theology. The subject with which it has to occupy itself expands into a national literature, which, originating in the earliest periods among the Hebrew people, reached its conclusion in the early Christian Church. Exegetical theology is the philology of this literature. But as such, it has, by reason of its relations to the other parts of theology, a limited task in reference to its subject, inasmuch as it has to do only with the literature of a people of the Semitic stem, and, in regard even to this, has chiefly to ascertain only its religious contents. Since, however, this cannot be done successfully, unless the whole historical life of this people is rightly understood, and that too in connection with the culture of the other nations belonging to the Semitic stem, and unless its significance as a historical religion is brought into connection with the general development of historical religion, exegetical theology has, as its presupposition, Semitic philology generally and the general history of religion. The former, as an independent study, separate from theology, has for its subject the ancient forms of culture, and the history of all the branches of the Semitic race, with their different languages. In the prosecution of its task, exegetical theology has to make use of the linguistic, ethnographical, geographical, historical, and culture-historical results, which Semitic philology brings to light,[1] just as well as those which the general history of

[1] Volck, Die Bedeutung der semitischen philologie für die alttestamentliche Exegese. Dorpat 1874.

religion contributes to it; and, in its own special department, which it has thoroughly to investigate, it must proceed in accordance with the same principles as those two sciences, if it is not to be outflanked by them, or pushed quite over to one side.

Because exegetical theology pursues its end according to a strictly historical method, it stands, as the first division of theological science, in a living connection with the Church. The canonical writings, which form the principal constituents of the literature with which exegetical theology is concerned, have for the Church not only a historical, but also in the highest degree a directly practical, value. While exegetical theology must proceed with its task without the dogmatic presuppositions, which within the Church entwine themselves about Holy Scripture, it will nevertheless, through the whole course of its activity, bear traces of that churchly estimation of the canonical writings. Apart from the general service which exegetical theology performs for the Church,[1] it will protect the Church, specially in regard to Holy Scripture, just by means of its historical investigation, against all manner of superstitious over-estimation of these Scriptures. It will also make it possible generally to mark the distinction, how far Scripture is to be regarded as the source of revelation, how far, too, it must form the foundation of Christian edification, of the spiritual life of the Church generally, and therefore also of theology. But not only do these theoretical questions, which are so extremely important for the Church, find in part their solution by means of exegetical theology; the edification of the Christian community also is advanced by means of the investigations of exegetical theology, inasmuch as it gives for all times to the laity, who are not acquainted with the original languages, access to the Holy Scripture as a book for edification, by means of translations and expositions, and equips the clergy with the proper means

[1] Compare § 21 of the present work.

for the understanding of Scripture, in order that they may continually preach the word of God in its truth to their congregations.

The separate branches of exegetical theology are deduced from its historical purpose. If exegetical theology has the task of coming to an understanding of Christianity in its historical originality, and if the biblical writings are the principal document from which it has to acquire this understanding, the simple historical understanding of these writings is the one means through which it can attain unto the end which it has in view. Accordingly exegetical theology is distributed into a number of branches which are either only means to an end, or secure the realization of the end itself.

Hermeneutics forms the foundation of exegetical theology. It has to determine the principles in accordance with which the exegete has to proceed in the interpretation of the literature lying before him, if he is to reach an actual historical understanding of that literature. For this purpose it is desirable that he should be acquainted with the foreign languages in which the biblical writings, and those writings related to them, are contained. The second branch of exegetical theology is the knowledge of the Biblical Languages. Further, the exegete, in carrying out the work of exposition, must be in possession of the original text of the writings which he has to expound, and must know the time and the place of their origin, as well as their author. The proper method to be employed in reaching this knowledge, and in securing the original text, is taught by the third branch of exegetical theology, Biblical Criticism. The literature of a people, however, whether as a whole or in its parts, can be rightly understood only when the ancient manners or customs of the people among whom it arose are known to the exegete, as existing institutions and in their historical development. The fourth and fifth branches of exegetical theology are Jewish Archæology and Jewish History. From this national

point of view the literature of the people is to be represented as a historical whole, since the exegete must know its general character as affected by national peculiarities, so that he may accordingly set the several writings in their proper connection. The sixth branch of exegetical theology is Isagogics, the so-called Introduction to the Old and New Testaments.

All these branches form the necessary presupposition of exegesis itself, that is, the exposition of Holy Scripture. Exegetics, the theory of exegetical practice, forms the seventh branch of exegetical theology. Exegesis, which is concerned with the separate writings, and which must, indeed, always keep their exposition in view as the main end of exegetical theology, can yet only lead to a partial and disconnected knowledge of Christianity in its original content. And hence, again, it only prepares the materials for that branch, in which exegetical theology first reaches its proper conclusion, namely, the eighth branch, the so-called Biblical Theology. This branch of exegetical theology has the task of presenting a systematic view of primitive Christianity with its historical presuppositions, and showing it to be the final end of the whole historical development of religion in its original significance.

§ 24. BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

The biblical literature, with the philological treatment of which exegetical theology has to occupy itself, is the product of a time long gone by, which has exercised upon succeeding generations an influence such as no ancient literature ever exercised. The whole history of the Church from the earliest period down to the present is an evidence of this. Whether the Church restricts or freely allows the use of Holy Scripture, the fact remains that biblical expressions and doctrines have passed over into the Christian consciousness and constitute the element which permeates the whole development of life within the Church. The inexhaustible wealth of the religious contents, which are embraced in the Scriptures, corresponds to the most varied needs and objects, as well of individual believers as of Church guidance, and makes possible, for the exercise of edification and doctrinal activity in the Church, a very diversified use of Holy Scripture. Exegetical theology, on the other hand, is carefully restricted to one particular use of Holy Scripture, that is, to its historical use. In the historical investigation of Scripture theology pursues a purely scientific, and at the same time a churchly, interest. This double theological interest is the presupposition of exegetical theology, and it must accomplish its whole activity with the consciousness that it can satisfy this only by a strictly historical treatment of Holy Scripture. Strictly limited to its task, which does not admit of following any interpretation you please to any end you please, it has therefore to overcome all the difficulties which present themselves in every historical inquiry. The principal difficulty for exegetical theology lies in the distance of time at which it finds itself removed from the origin of the writings which form the subject of its

investigation. Written in strange tongues, which are now dead languages, and having their origin under the influence of time-relations and national conditions which have now completely disappeared, they present themselves before exegetical theology as a literature hard to be understood. The task, then, of exegetical theology is nothing less than the reproduction, in its historical verisimilitude, of the world of thought which underlies this literature, and the discovery, in its primitive significance, of that spirit which was present under the strange form in which it was originally manifested. If it is to reach this end, it must then, first of all, be clear about the method of its procedure, and for this purpose requires hermeneutics, just like the philology of any particular literature.

Hermeneutics, derived from ἑρμηνεύειν, to interpret, is a general philological science, which rests upon general historico-philosophical principles.[1] According to its idea, it is the scientific theory regarding the principles and rules according to which we must proceed in order to find out from the words of a writer the thoughts originally expressed by him. All the propositions of hermeneutics are directed to make this purely historical understanding of a writer possible. Since, however, the linguistic expression of the thought, just as well as the understanding of it, rests upon general logical laws, the hermeneutical theory, according to its essential principles, finds a similar application to the interpretation of all literatures. Theology, therefore, in so far as it is to attain unto the understanding of a historical literature, cannot dispense with

[1] Compare Schleiermacher's Hermeneutik, die Einleitung. [Schleiermacher's definition is objected to by Dr. Briggs (Biblical Study, Edin. 1884, p. 297 ff.) as too narrow. He would define hermeneutics so as to embrace, not only the art of understanding an author, but also the art of exposition or explanation of an author to others. It is much more scientific and exact to regard hermeneutics as the science of the principles to be used and applied by the expositor. Dr. Briggs treats it as an art; Schleiermacher as a science in which the rules of art find their ground. It is thus characterized as the theory of the art of exposition. Only when defined as a science can hermeneutics rank with the other departments of exegetical theology.]

hermeneutics, and its biblical hermeneutics does not require to lay down essentially different principles of interpretation from those of general hermeneutics. This demand remains unaffected by doctrinal controversies, as to whether the biblical writings are to be regarded as divine, or as human, and whether, if divine, they require a special method of interpretation. Although the biblical writings be treated as a historical literature, there lies in the epithet "historical" no opposition to that of "divine." The biblical exegete, who expounds Scripture on the general grounds of his own theological consciousness, may regularly proceed with his exegetical labours, as indeed one of the latest writers on hermeneutics requires,[1] upon the supposition that Holy Scripture contains revelation; only this supposition must not be allowed to prejudice in any way the general hermeneutical principles of the exposition. In so far as any modification is allowed in biblical hermeneutics, it must be derived from this fundamental principle of general hermeneutics, that the literature of each separate people is to be dealt with according to its own special characteristics. Thus, we must lay down special hermeneutics for the interpretation of the Greek writings, for example, or the Latin writings, etc.; but these special hermeneutics must, nevertheless, all of them rest upon the same historico-philosophical principles, while as special sciences they expressly recommend particular rules which are to be followed in the exposition of this or that literature, if the true historical understanding of it is actually to be reached. So too, biblical hermeneutics must take for its standard the fundamental principles of general hermeneutics, but, where it has to do with a particular national literature, it will have to lay down for its exposition certain special rules determined by the special peculiarities of that literature. Now the fundamental law, which general hermeneutics gives forth for every sort of exposition, is this, that the expositor must

[1] Immer, Hermeneutik, p. 13 f.

proceed in a purely objective manner, that is, that the aim of the exposition must be to ascertain the meaning originally intended by his words on the part of the author of a writing, without deducting anything from it, or importing any other meaning into it. Just this fundamental hermeneutical law has to be enforced with the strongest emphasis in biblical hermeneutics, because over this the most serious stumblings on the part of exegetes of the biblical writings have occurred, and even in the present do still occur. This phenomenon is to be explained, partly from the dogmatic over-estimation of the biblical writings, partly from the unhistorical under-estimation of them. It was thus, as the history of exegesis shows, that the most diverse methods of interpretation came into vogue, which certainly so far afford evidence of the high regard which men entertained for the word of Scripture, but, at the same time, lead to a more or less subjective treatment, and just on account of this are untenable and objectionable over against that fundamental law of hermeneutics.

Among those diverse methods of interpretation may be mentioned first of all, the allegorical method, which, issuing out of the conflict between Judaism and Hellenism, was applied to the Old Testament especially by Philo, the Alexandrian-Jewish philosopher (d. about 40 A.D.), and to the New Testament in the early Church especially by Origen (d. 254 A.D.). According to this method, we must start from the position, that God in the word of Scripture has embedded far deeper thoughts than appears upon a merely superficial consideration, so that besides the simple literal sense, the higher and deeper divine sense has to be searched out. In following out this method the freest play was allowed to the expositor's own understanding. All possible subjective notions or even the most stately philosophical ideas were transferred into the word of Scripture,—ideas which in themselves perhaps were altogether proper and true, but which were not in place in an exposition, unless it could be shown that they had been present

to the minds of the biblical writers when they chose their words. This also applies to the mystical interpretation of Scripture, which prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church during the Middle Ages, and introduced a sort of allegorical method, that is, raised into a standard the arbitrariness of that method. In accordance with the example of Augustine (d. 430 A.D.), a fourfold sense of Scripture was distinguished: the simple literal sense; the allegorical, which determines dogma; the tropological or moral, which determines moral action; and the anagogical, which brings the word of Scripture generally into connection with heavenly things. The method was characterized in a summary way in the following distich:—

"Litera gesta docet, quid credas, allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quid speres, anagogia."

In modern times Olshausen has endeavoured to vindicate the right of the allegorical and mystical interpretation in reference to the deeper sense of Scripture. He has certainly avoided many of the defects of that system of interpretation, but is not free from the chief fault thereof, subjectivity, which makes its appearance still in his exposition.[1]

Equally subjective is the traditional dogmatic method of interpretation, which is even yet required by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Greek Church, because the exegetical tradition, which defines itself as *consensus patrum*, and the Church doctrine, are laid down as the standard for the exposition of Scripture, so that already, before the exposition is given, it is determined by means of these what the exegete must evolve from the word of Scripture. The dogmatic method of interpretation has long been employed even in the Protestant

[1] H. Olshausen, Ein Wort ueber tiefern Schriftsinn. Königsberg 1824. Also by the same author, Die biblische Schriftauslegung, noch ein Wort ueber tiefern Schriftsinn. Hamburg 1825. [Compare also, Doedes, Manual of Hermeneutics, Edinburgh 1867, pp. 30, 31. Conybeare, Bampton Lecture for 1824. An Attempt to trace the History and to ascertain the Limits of the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture. Oxford 1824. Maitland, Mystical Interpretation of Scripture. London 1852.]

Church, especially through the domination of the orthodox theology, because the doctrine laid down in the ecclesiastical symbols had been adopted as the standard of exposition, and this exposition was employed by modern orthodox theology in the interests of this doctrine.[1] Among modern exegetes of this tendency, the following are specially prominent: Hengstenberg, Hofmann, Delitzsch, Hävernick, Keil, Kurtz.

If, according to the methods of interpretation above referred to, the exegete is led to import into the word of Scripture more than really is contained in it, then, from other standpoints, and indeed for the most part from subjective interests, the content of Holy Scripture is greatly circumscribed. This takes place in the so-called rational exposition, as proceeding from theological rationalism, which indeed admits Holy Scripture as the standard, but, at the same time, also maintains its dicta of reason, so that Scripture must submit to be so expounded, that it does not get into contradiction with the positions of reason. Closely related to this is also the moral or practical method of interpretation which was recommended by Kant, and practised by his school. In pursuing this method, the interpreter consciously abandons the objective sense of Scripture, and is determined by the tendency to expound revelation in a sense which corresponds with the ethical requirements of a religion of pure reason. The procedure is the same, when Holy Scripture is expounded in the interests of a philosophical system, and a so-called philosophical exposition is adopted. Although speculative philosophy, because it generally prepares the way for an objective historical treatment, leads also on to sound principles of interpretation, still its representatives and supporters are brought first of all into antagonism with Scripture from the tendency to understand the word of Scripture in accordance with the ideas of their system, in order to establish in an exegetical way a harmony between revelation and philosophy.

[1] Hupfeld, Die heutige Theosophische und Mythologische Theologie und Schrifterklärung. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik derselben. Berlin 1861.

From the tendencies of the Hegelian school, which have been previously described, there sprang up the mythical interpretation of David Strauss, and the idealistic method of Bruno Bauer, — methods of interpretation which, as methods, are wrecked upon the historical reality of their object, and can have for exegetes only a secondary importance.

All the methods of interpretation which have been enumerated offend against the hermeneutical fundamental law of objectivity, and greatly as they differ among themselves, they are all alike in failing to reach any actually historical understanding of Holy Scripture. So long as exegesis was conducted according to those methods, theology stood under the domination of subjective arbitrariness, and reached neither to an unfettered conception of history, nor to the scientific end which it must set for itself in exegetical theology. From the wrong paths, into which exegesis has been led by those methods, theology can extricate itself only when it enters upon the historical path, which, while it is the straight path, is here also the best. To that fundamental law of hermeneutics only the grammatico-historical method of interpretation corresponds, which is demanded by hermeneutics for every department of literature, and therefore also must be applied to biblical literature. This style of exposition was introduced into the early Church by the theologians of the Antiochian school, was practised in the Middle Ages by the Rabbinical interpreters, and before the Reformation in the Roman Catholic Church by Laurentius Valla, Faber Stapulensis, and Erasmus; but it was pre-eminently the Reformation which made the grammatical exposition of Scripture be regarded as a necessity Since it grounded the proof of its own historical right wholly upon the word of Scripture, it needed to insist that this should not be arbitrarily understood, and in opposition to the fourfold sense of Roman Catholic exegesis it was obliged to maintain the fundamental position, that every Scripture passage can only have one, and that the grammatical sense. Nevertheless,

although the Reformation did indeed decidedly declare in favour of the simple literal meaning of Scripture, it was not able in its own time to raise itself to an actually historical treatment of Holy Scripture. This also has to be said in regard to the supernaturalistic and the rationalistic theology. Although both demand a grammatical exposition, they were yet restrained by reason of the peculiarity of their principles from the historical investigation of Scripture, since both had to fear the objective sense of Scripture for their doctrinal presuppositions. First in the most recent times, was theology, by means of the general philosophical, philological, and historical studies, which proved serviceable to it, placed in a position for giving effect in its full scientific extent to the grammatico-historical method of Scripture exposition. If this mode of exposition has been most vehemently contested from the side of modern orthodox theologians, the arts of allegorical and mystical interpretation, to which they again applied themselves,[1] simply furnish the proof, that care for their dogma, and not any scientific principle, formed the motive by which their polemic was determined. If, on the contrary, an objection is raised from another side against the grammatico-historical exposition, that by its merely literal and verbal procedure it leads only to a jejune, lexicographical exposition and a merely external and material explanation of the text,[2] the objection can apply only to an inadequate working out of the method, or to exegetes who treat it in an improper manner, but not to the grammatico-historical method of interpretation conducted on scientific principles. Biblical hermeneutics has for its principal task the explanation of the essential nature of this method.

First of all it has to be made prominent that the predicates grammatical and historical, by means of which the method is characterized, are to be understood in the widest acceptation of the terms, and that all the elements, which may possibly

[1] Compare the work of Hupfeld before referred to.
[2] Rosenkranz, Encyclopædie, p. 137.

be contained therein, are to be placed in connection with the literary works to be expounded. The predicate "grammatical" concerns generally the form of the writing; the predicate "historical" concerns rather its contents. In respect of form the first and most important point is the word, as the expression of the thought. Hermeneutics has to make a twofold demand of the exegete in respect of this, namely, that, on the one hand, he should know the words according to the signification in which they have been employed by his author, and that, on the other hand, he should know the words according to the original form in which they passed from his pen. The exegete must, therefore, possess the most perfect knowledge possible of the languages in which the writings to be expounded by him were written, according to their formal and material, their grammatical and lexical, construction, a demand which biblical hermeneutics pre-eminently has to make on account of the difficulty and peculiarity of the languages in which biblical literature is composed. On the other hand, the exegete must acquire, by all means at his command, the certainty that he is in possession of the original text, and must with his verbal exposition combine, at the same time, the critical examination of the text, a demand which biblical hermeneutics has to insist upon in an altogether special manner, because of the peculiar fortunes of the biblical writings. The second point which has to be considered in reference to the form, is the rhetorical aspect of the writing or the form of the composition in which the writer has given expression to his thoughts, so that the question arises, whether the style is exact or inexact, whether it is to be understood literally or figuratively and pictorially, really or symbolically,—a point to which biblical hermeneutics has to pay very special attention, partly because the biblical writers were not rhetorically accomplished authors, and so did not always make the design of their writing evident at the first glance, partly because the Church style was modelled upon that of Holy Scripture.

Finally, the third point calls attention to the species of literature to which a writing belongs, whether it belongs to the historical, poetical, or didactic order. In the biblical literature these had not reached a formal classification, as, for example, among the Greeks; each writing rather presented itself as a mixture more or less of the different elements, so that it is also here of importance for the exegetical understanding, as well as for the practical use of Scripture in the Church, to inquire whether a passage is to be understood as historico-poetic, or poetico-historical, or didactico-poetical. From this it follows that in biblical literature a species of writing comes into prominence, which never previously found a place in any national literature, namely, the prophetical, the understanding of which is encompassed by the most serious difficulties, so that biblical hermeneutics is obliged to lay down for it special principles and rules of interpretation.

The predicate "historical" has reference generally to the contents of Scripture. (1) The contents of Scripture are *historical*, as conditioned by the personal characteristics of the author. For the understanding of particular passages, as well as of the general contents and the general tendency of a writing, it is desirable to know the author of it according to his intellectual individuality. Everything which can contribute to an insight into this, is to be taken into consideration here; the birthplace of the author, the rank and character of his parents, the family-life in which as a child he grew up, his education, the general course of his training, the incidents of his career, his character. Since the writings, for the exposition of which biblical hermeneutics gives its rules, are essentially religious in their contents, it is the part of the exegete here to shed light upon the innermost life of the biblical writers, and, so far as possible, to show psychologically how their religious consciousness gave a characteristic bent to their mode of thought. (2) The contents of Scripture are *historical*, as conditioned by the life of the people amongst whom the

writer composed his work. The natural surroundings and field upon which the writer as an individual belonging to a particular race grew up, the social customs of the people, their civic institutions and arrangements, their political and ecclesiastical ordinances, the general character of the race,—all this must be taken into consideration, in order to understand aright the contents of any particular writing which proceeds from that people. Now the Hebrew race, which regarded itself as the people of God, chosen out from among all the nations, was in point of character essentially religious. As it placed its entire national life under the religious point of view, its writers, also, as representatives of the highest intellectual activity of the nation, have in their writings chiefly given expression to the national religious consciousness, and have impressed upon the whole national literature a religious character. (3) The contents of Scripture are *historical*, as conditioned by the circumstances of the age under which any writing originated. Biblical literature, like every other national literature, stands under the influence of the people's history; and as the life of a people never remains historically isolated, so also the conditions of Jewish life cannot be viewed apart. Neighbouring races in many ways influenced the forms of Jewish life, and towards the close this was pre-eminently true of the Greeks. The individual writer too is amenable to those influences, often without being himself fully conscious of the fact; many of his expressions, not unfrequently his whole tendency, will first become clear to the expositor when he looks at the particular writing from this general standpoint.

In this way the grammatico-historical method of interpretation has been characterized in accordance with its fundamental principles. In it are embraced the two elements, according to which Schleiermacher represented it in his Hermeneutics, the grammatical and the psychological, and also, in so far as they generally fall within the range of exegesis, the various elements, which Germar demands for his

panharmonic interpretation,[1] and Pelt, in his Encyclopædia, for exposition, the grammatical, psychological, historical, and religious.[2] In it the branches of exegetical theology which immediately follow find their foundation. If this conception of the science be adopted, then it also follows that the biblical hermeneutics, which concerns itself generally with biblical literature, in consequence of the change which passed over the Jewish national consciousness by means of Christianity, can be divided into an Old and a New Testament hermeneutics, and with reference to the differences of the various kinds of writing, and the individuality of the particular writers, into systems of special hermeneutics, as had been first suggested by Schleiermacher.[3] Only to the exegete, who proceeds strictly in accordance with the fundamental principles of grammatico-historical interpretation, is it possible, at least theoretically, to reach the end at which he aims, the understanding and setting forth of the meaning of Scripture in its objectivity. The distinction between exposition and interpretation has been made without ground. The exegete when he has expounded a writing in accordance with the spirit of its author and its age, has thereby also given its right interpretation. In comparison with the other methods of exposition, the grammatico-historical, which has at last found a distinguished supporter in Immer, is alone capable of being vindicated as scientific. Schleiermacher, indeed, gave expression to this with all precision.[4] All the other methods can claim a right of existence only in so far as they contribute to the results reached by this method. Only upon the scientific way, which it marks out, can through time an agreement be

[1] F. A. Germar, Die panharmonische Interpretation der heiligen Schrift. Schleswig 1821. [Compare Doedes, Hermeneutics, p. 49. Briggs' Biblical Study, p. 348.]

[2] Pelt, Encyclopædie, p. 175.

[3] Compare Darstellung des theologischen Studiums, § 136–138. [English translation. Edin. 1850.]

[4] Compare Hermeneutik, § 13.

reached in regard to the understanding of Scripture, and consequently also, an agreement in regard to the most important theological questions.

The most important hermeneutical works of recent times are these: — Fr. Lücke, Grundriss der Neutestamentlichen Hermeneutik und ihrer Geschichte. Göttingen 1817. H. N. Clausen, Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments. From the Danish. Leipzig 1841. Fr. Schleiermacher, Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neue Testament. Herausgegeben von Fr. Lücke. Berlin 1838. Werke. Zur Theologie. Bd. 2. J. M. A. Löhnis (Catholic), Grundzüge der Biblischen Hermeneutik und Kritik. Giessen 1839. C. G. Wilke, Die Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments Systematisch Dargestellt. Bd. 1, 2. Leipzig 1843–1844. J. L. Lutz, Biblische Hermeneutik. Pforzheim 1849. 2 Ausgabe, 1861. A. Immer, Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments. Wittenberg 1873. [Immer, Hermeneutics of the New Testament. English translation. Andover 1877. Fairbairn, Hermeneutical Manual. Edin. 1858. Doedes, Manual of Hermeneutics for the Writings of the New Testament. From the Dutch. Edin. 1867. Pareau, Principles of Interpretation of the Old Testament. 2 vols. Edin. 1835. Ernesti, Principles of Political Interpretation (New Testament). 2 vols. Edin. 1832. Planck, Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation. Edin. 1834. Jowett, On the Interpretation of Scripture (in Essays and Reviews), London 1861; and reply, under same title, by Bishop Wordsworth, London 1862.]

§ 25. KNOWLEDGE OF THE BIBLICAL LANGUAGES (LINGUISTICS).

The languages in which the biblical literature was originally written have, in the course of history, undergone such changes that the study of the sacred tongues embraces research upon a singular variety of subjects. The Hebrews belonged to the Semitic stem, and their speech to that class of languages which now, at least for the most part, is designated Semitic. Pre-eminently by means of the language peculiar to them, the Semites showed themselves to be a race distinct and separate from others. The Semitic nations which had spread over the whole of Western Asia, and part of Africa, have, as a result of the differences characterizing the countries in which they dwelt, and in consequence of diversities in the degrees of culture and historical development to which they had attained, modified in various particulars the Semitic language; but, at the same time, amid all these modifications, so great a similarity prevails, that they may be all regarded as forming one family of languages bound together by the bonds of affinity. A peculiar modification of the Semitic language prevailed among the Semites throughout the wide district to the north-east of Palestine in Aram, that is, in Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Assyria. It appears in its oldest form in the Assyrian and Old Babylonian, which has become known in the most recent times by means of the deciphering of the inscriptions.[1] In its literary form we come to know

[1] That the Assyrian-Babylonian belongs to the Semitic family of languages has been finally proved by E. Schrader in his treatise, Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften. Kritische Untersuchung der Grundlagen ihrer Entzifferung, published in the Zeitschrift der D. M. G. Bd. 26. Schrader distinguishes three groups of Semitic languages — (1) The Eastern Semitic (Assyrian-

Aramaic first from the Jewish post-exilian writings, and it is to this language that the name "Aramaic" is given in the Old Testament: 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isa. xxxvi. 11; Dan. ii. 4; Ezra iv. 7.[1] The distinction commonly made between two distinct dialects of Aramaic, the Eastern Aramaic or Chaldæan, and the Western Aramaic or Syriac, is without sufficient foundation. The name "Chaldæan" is only a more recent designation for Aramaic, derived from Dan. i. 4. But the Syriac, which became known to us first in a later period from the Syrian translation of the Holy Scriptures, and from a rich ecclesiastical and theological literature springing up during the second Christian century, shows such characteristic departures from that formerly known as Aramaic, that it may be regarded as a peculiar dialect of Aramaic developed in Western Aram. The name Syriac may have been given regularly by the Aramaic-speaking Jews to the language of the Aramaic-speaking Gentiles.[2] Next to the Aramaic, the Canaanitish, and also the Phœnician (Punic), which, in consequence of the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians, was spread far into the West, are to be ranked as dialects closely related to the Semitic.

In the countries south of Palestine, the various Arab tribes had a language of their own broken up into many dialects. The two principal ancient dialects were the Himyaritic in the south, and the Koreishitic of Mecca in the north-west of Arabia. The latter, which even before Mohammed's time was the literary language, became, by means of the victories

Babylonian); (2) The Northern Semitic (Hebrew and Aramaic); and (3) The Southern Semitic (Arabic and Ethiopic). [Semitic is not exactly descriptive of this class of languages, which embraces some Hamitic, and excludes some Semitic languages. But as a convenient term it will hold its place. Compare Bleek, Introd. to Old Testament, vol. i. pp. 39–40. Keil, Introd. to Old Testament, vol. i. p. 28. Ewald, History of Israel, vol. i. p. 277. Compare also, Fr. Delitzsch, Hebrew Language in light of Assyrian Research. London 1884.]

[1] In the English version the word used in each of these passages is Syriac, but the original word in each is Aramaic.—Ed.

[2] As Nöldecke, writing in Schenkel's Bibel Lexicon upon the word Aram, assumes.

of Mohammed, the prevalent speech, and was spread far and wide. It is known to us now as the Arabic language, in which the whole of the Arabian literature has been composed, and which about the fifteenth century had developed into the common Arabic of to-day. The Ethiopic is a branch of the Himyaritic dialect, which as a written language is called Geez. In it we possess a translation of the Bible, and an ecclesiastical literature. More recently it has been modified into the Amharic dialect, which at present is the common speech of Abyssinia.

The Semitic language from which we get possession of the oldest literature of all the Semitic languages, is the Hebrew. The name "Hebrew language" does not occur in the Old Testament. In Isa. xix. 18 it is called the language of Canaan, and in the kingdom of Judah it is also called the Jews' language; Isa. xxxvi. 11, 13; 2 Kings xviii. 26. First in the prologue to Jesus Sirach is the expression *ἑβραϊστί* found, and then in Josephus we have the name *γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων*. In this later period, as the old literature had by that time come to be regarded as a sacred literature, the old language, in which it was composed, was also called the sacred language. The Hebrew, with which the Samaritan is joined, as a mixture of different elements from the Aramaic and Hebrew languages, must originally be derived from the Aramaic-Canaanitic, and must have retained those strongly marked peculiarities, which with us have come to be historically associated with the name, in consequence of that mental tendency peculiar to the Hebrews, and the literary activity entered upon by them. As the Hebrew language was spoken in a country lying between the districts in which Aramaic and Arabic were spoken, so, in respect of its formal and material construction, it occupies a position midway between the two. The Aramaic, both in respect of grammar and in respect of vocabulary, is poorer and less developed than Hebrew. On the other hand, the Arabic, both in grammatical development,

and especially in the richness of its vocabulary, stands far above the Hebrew. And further, since the time of Mohammed, the Arabians have made intellectual progress in the most varied directions, and created a rich poetic and scientific literature, so that, by means of this many-sided intellectual and literary activity, the very language has of necessity experienced a further development. The Hebrew language is characterized by a great simplicity in the construction of noun and verb, inasmuch as it does not designate the different grammatical modifications of a word by means of new forms of the word, and inasmuch as the grammatical treatment gives no definite expression to distinctions of tense. The two principal forms of the verb, the Perfect and the Imperfect, are not so much distinctions of tense as of mood, by means of which the completed and the actually existing, on the one hand, are distinguished from the incomplete and contemplated, on the other hand; so that the two forms of the verb are in this respect applicable to the most diverse relations of time. In the Syntax, again, the simplicity shows itself in the mode of joining words, inasmuch as the thoughts are usually bound together in the slightest manner by means of the copula, not according to an artistic method by the use of accessory and subordinate propositions linked together by conjunctions. If ever the language of a people is to be regarded as the most direct expression of its intellectual life, then it must be acknowledged that the Hebrew language, by means of the religious bent of the Hebrew mind, has in a pre-eminent manner retained its own proper characteristics. As religion is the simple relationship of man to God apart from any reflective refinements, in such a form must the religious characteristic of the life of a people reflect itself in the construction of their language. In its simplicity, which results from this religious bent, this language approved itself to the people as the most fitting organ for relating in plain terms the divine leading in the fortunes of the individual, so as to have

them regarded as the mighty acts of God toward His people, for giving the truest expression to the most varied emotions and experiences of religious feeling, and for representing the highest ideal of the nation, and its most profound religious thoughts, in a style of narrative the most beautiful. The canonical writings of the Old Testament, with only a few exceptions, are composed in the classical form of the language. In those writings we get a survey of a long period extending through centuries. But when we compare the literature of the time of Moses with that of the exilian period, there confronts us what, in comparison with other languages, is quite an abnormal phenomenon. During this period of a thousand years the Hebrew language did not experience any essential change in its construction. This fact, too, which is to be understood only partially from the historical conditions of that early period, which did not forcibly drag the people out of their own sphere, and drew them into intercourse with other peoples, is pre-eminently to be explained by the fixity of the religious character of the people, which moulded their theory of life and conduct according to a uniform standard, and maintained a spirit of national exclusiveness toward all foreigners. So long as the Hebrews remained in the enjoyment of political independence, they preserved their own language in an unaltered form. In the post-exilian period, on the contrary, political events exercised a most prejudicial influence upon the language of the people, and led to its gradual extinction as a spoken language of the nation. Even so early as the times of the Assyrian invasion, and still more widely during that of the Chaldæans, the Hebrew language had been altered by the introduction of Aramaic elements. But it was probably during the time of the actual exile that the bulk of the people began familiarly to use the Aramaic language; which is the more readily to be explained, when we remember that originally the Hebrew was nearly related to the Aramaic. Of the Jews who returned from the exile, the younger generation, which

had grown up during the exile, had for the most part been accustomed to speak Aramaic, and the continuance of the foreign dominion must also have fostered the general prevalence of the foreign dialect. Even if, from the passage occurring in Neh. viii. 8, it does not follow that, so early as the time of Ezra, the bulk of the people could not understand the reading of the law in the old language, this fact nevertheless shows that gradually the Hebrew language ceased to be the language of the people, and that the Aramaic was taking its place. This is also proved from the fact that soon the needs of the religious community required that translations of the Old Testament Scriptures for the people should be made into Aramaic, the so-called Targums, and that, also, in the Jewish literature of this period, the Aramaic language makes its appearance. Jer. x. 11; Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26; Dan. ii. and iv.–vii. Hence, in the New Testament, the phrases ἑβραϊστί, John v. 2, xix. 13, and ἑβραΐς διαλέκτος, Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi. 14, do not refer to the old Hebrew language, but, in opposition to the Greek, indicate the common Aramaic dialect used in Palestine at that time. It was only as the language of literature that Hebrew held its place down to the second century, that is, to the time of the Maccabees. Afterwards it became the subject of study in rabbinical schools, and the knowledge of it was communicated by rabbinical tradition. Later Judaism did not produce any independent literary work in the Aramaic language. Interspersed with Hebraisms, the Aramaic became the language of the Talmudic commentaries upon the ancient literature.

While the Palestinian Jews lost their ancient mother tongue, this changing of their language was carried out yet further by the Jews living outside of Palestine. From the time when the Græco-Macedonian dominion began, the Jews of the dispersion with the Greek culture adopted also the Greek language, yet without becoming unfaithful to the ancient religion of their fathers. This was especially the case

with the Jews in Egypt. Alexandria was the place where now a thoroughly characteristic Jewish literature in the Greek language sprang up. Among the Greek-speaking Jews, both in Palestine and outside of Palestine, the religious interest led to translations of the Holy Scriptures into Greek. Chief among these translations is the Alexandrian version, by the use of which the Jews maintained indeed continuously connection with their national religion, but, at the same time, were also made always the more dependent upon the foreign Greek language. Almost the whole of the extra-canonical literature of later Judaism was composed in the Greek language, and so also were the New Testament and the rest of the literature of the earliest Christian Churches composed in this same form of Greek spoken by the Grecianized Jews. While in Palestine the Aramaic became the language of the narrowest national literature, Christianity springing out of Judaism met with a truly œcumenical language in the Greek, in which the knowledge of Christ could at once be spread among the Jews and among all other peoples throughout the great Roman Empire.[1]

The Hebrew and Greek are thus the two principal languages of which knowledge is indispensable to the biblical exegete. The philologically exact knowledge of the Hebrew language can be attained only by means of a comparative study of the whole group of the Semitic languages. Such a comprehensive study, however, is not necessary for the purpose of exegetical theology, nor indeed, by reason of the accumulation of details in this study made in recent times,

[1] On the history of the Semitic, and especially the Hebrew language, compare Gesenius, Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift. Leipzig 1815. Ewald, Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des A. B., § 1 ff. Also by the same author, Abhandlung ueber die geschichtliche Folge der semitischen Sprachen. Göttingen 1871. (Extracts from the fifteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of the Sciences at Göttingen.) Fr. Bleek, Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Vorbemerkungen C. [English translation, Introd. to the O. T., vol. i. pp. 38–170.] Keil, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 13 ff. [English translation, Introd. to the O. T., vol. i. pp. 26–70.]

would it be quite practicable for theologians in future. Here first of all Semitic philology comes to the help of the biblical exegete. It is its part in accordance with the demands of comparative philology to set forth the Semitic languages in their dialectic connection with one another; and it is enough for the theologian that, upon the foundation of this strictly philological investigation, he should acquire above all a knowledge of the Hebrew of the most thorough kind possible. He will thus be able, by means of his special Old Testament studies, as a counterpart of the work of the philologist, to supply, from the department of the Hebrew language, material which will prove serviceable for the general investigation of the Semitic languages. The theologian, however, must devote himself to the careful study of the Hebrew, not only for the sake of the Old Testament exegesis, but also, in order that he may understand the Greek of the later Jewish literature and the New Testament, he must render himself familiar with the peculiarities of the Semitic grammatical idiom. It should not be left unnoticed that the Old and New Testament writings have their origin in the one soil and in the same nationality. Hence, although the New Testament was composed in the Greek language, its authors were for the most part Jews, who wrote a Greek dialect which, in consequence of national Jewish culture and ways of viewing things, had gained an altogether characteristic impress, and had a configuration given to it by them in the same way. A Semitic undertone is heard throughout, as well in the Greek of the later Jewish literature, as also always through the New Testament Greek, even in the case of New Testament writers, who write the Greek comparatively speaking in its present form. Many grammatical forms, modes of speech, and expressions of the New Testament are capable of being understood only by one who is acquainted with the peculiarities of the Semitic languages. Thus, for instance, it happens that in the New Testament copious quotations from the Old Testament are found, for the explana-

tion of which the exegete must necessarily fall back upon the original Old Testament text. Many a thing, too, is related in the New Testament which was originally spoken in Aramaic, and was only afterwards by the New Testament writer translated into Greek, and which can be rightly understood only when it is translated back from the Greek into Aramaic.

The biblical exegete requires to appropriate from the other Semitic languages only so much as he has use for in his exegetical task. Here only the Aramaic (Chaldee), Syriac, and Arabic come under consideration. The first of these deserves attention, because certain sections of the Old Testament were composed in the Aramaic language, and old Aramaic translations of many of the Old Testament books, the Targums, are extant. Not only the comparison of these translations with the original text is of importance for the understanding of that original, but also peculiar religious theories are found in the Targums, which are not without significance for the knowledge of later Judaism. The Syriac also has to be embraced by the biblical exegete in the circle of his studies, because we possess an old Syriac translation of the Holy Scriptures made from the original biblical text, the so-called Peschito, which is almost indispensable to the exegete for the explanation of the biblical text. The Arabic, however, is specially serviceable to the exegete for explaining, out of the remarkably rich Arabic vocabulary, Hebrew words occurring only once, or seldom in the Old Testament, or otherwise doubtful as to their root meaning.

The science of the Scripture languages has to include in its department only so much from the Semitic languages, and has therefore the general Semitic philology as its presupposition. If the biblical exegete goes beyond this line in his studies, and applies himself to the comparative study of the whole of the Semitic languages, he oversteps the strictly theological boundaries, and enters upon those of philology. Many of the earlier theologians rendered great service in this depart-

ment of so-called Oriental philology, and even still among modern theologians two stand forth pre-eminent as Oriental philologists, Gesenius and Ewald, whose works before all others are to be recommended for the study of the Hebrew language.

W. Gesenius, Hebräische Grammatik. Halle 1813. 21 Aufl. Leipzig 1872. (Since the 14th edition of the year 1845, it has been edited by E. Roediger.) [22nd edition by Kautsch. Leipzig 1878. English translations in many editions by Davies, London, and Conant, New York: latest German edition translated by Mitchell. Andover 1880.] Also by Gesenius, Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte. Leipzig 1817. 2 Bde. Also, Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch ueber das Alte Testament. Leipzig 1815. 6th and 7th ed. 1863 and 1868, edited by F. E. Ch. Dietrich. 8th ed. newly arranged and worked up by F. Mühlau and W. Volck. Leipzig 1877. [English translation by S. P. Tregelles. London 1846.] Lexicon Manuale hebr. et chald. in V. T. libros. Lips. 1833. Edit. alt. ab A. Th. Hoffmanno recogn. 1847. Thesaurus philologico-criticus linguæ hebr. et chald. V. T. 3 Tomi. Lips. 1829–1858. H. Ewald, Kritische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache, ausführlich bearbeitet. Leipzig 1827. By the same author, Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments in volstandiger Kürze neu bearbeitet. Leipzig 1828. Editions 5th to 8th, 1844, 1855, 1863, 1870, under the title: Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Bundes. [Ewald's Introductory Hebrew Grammar. London 1870. Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament, from 8th German ed. Edin. 1879.] J. B. Winer, Simonis lexicon manuale hebr. et chald. post Eichhornii curas denuo castigavit, etc. Lips. 1828. [Fürst, Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament, transl. by Davidson. London 1867.] D. G. W. Freitag, Kurzgefasste

Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache für den Schul- und Universitätsgebrauch. Halle 1835. A. W. J. Thiersch, Hebräische Grammatik für Anfänger. 2 Ausg. Erlangen 1858. [Davidson, Introductory Hebrew Grammar. Edin. 1874.] J. Olshausen, Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache. Braunschweig 1861. Fr. Böttcher, Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache. Edited after the death of the author by F. Mühlau. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1867, 1868. [Tregelles, Heads of Hebrew Grammar, London 1852, is a useful book for beginners. A thorough and philosophical treatment of the subject will be found in Nordheimer, Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language. 2 vols. New York 1842.]

The other language, which the science of the biblical languages has for its subject, the Greek language, in which a great part of the Jewish and Christian apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings and all of the New Testament books were written, has a thoroughly distinctive character of its own, which can be rightly understood only when the historical circumstances are taken into consideration, under which this language was developed. If one abandons this historical ground, he will certainly form altogether false opinions regarding that language, which must then also exercise an injurious influence upon exegesis. This makes itself seen most significantly in the dispute which, during the seventeenth century, and the first half of the eighteenth century, was carried on between the Purists and the Hebraists. The Purists, who were carried away by the inspiration dogma, and regarded not only the thoughts, but also the words, as given by the Holy Spirit, were accordingly obliged to assume that the Holy Spirit would have spoken in the best Greek, and that therefore the New Testament Greek is the purely classical Greek language. Here, too, dogmatic prejudice led into error in regard to the historical facts. In accordance with an unprejudiced philological investigation, the result is rather this, that the language of the New Testament, in

respect of grammar and vocabulary, is a very different form of Greek from the classical. It is that form of Greek which was spoken by the Jews scattered among the Greeks, and which, to distinguish it from the classical, has been called Hellenistic Greek. In characterizing this Greek, this fact first of all claims consideration, that the Greek language which the later Jews employed was no longer the old classical form. From the time when the Græco-Macedonian dominion began, the old Greek language was changed, by means of a mixture of the different Greek dialects, into the so-called κοινὴ διάλεκτος, that is, into the common Greek of Scripture and popular literature. But during the same period, during the Alexandrine period, the nearer contact of Judaism with Greek influences took place, and the Jews who lived in countries that were under the Greek dominion adopted the Greek language in the form of that dialect which had come into general use. The Grecianizing of Judaism, however, would evidently be completed only by a gradual process. Consequently it could not fail that the Jews, while they were exchanging the mother tongue for a foreign language, could transfer elements of their former speech into the new, and also clothe old Hebrew modes of thought, yea, the whole circle of their religious conceptions, in the outward dress of their new language. Thus arose that form of Greek, interspersed with Aramaisms and Hebraisms, which, by means of the Alexandrine translation of the Old Testament, was spread far and wide among the Jews, and was always being the more firmly established in its idiomatic forms. This Judaized Greek was come upon by the New Testament writers ready to their hand, and now, since they wrote therein, they themselves added to it certain characteristics, special Christian elements, by means of which the New Testament language is characterized. If the new Christian thoughts were to have expression given them, they might indeed have been laid down in the transmitted form, but by means of the new con-

tents the form itself became something different. Especially in respect of vocabulary is this worthy of attention. Originally Hebrew words, which were simply translated from Hebrew into Greek, and purely Greek words, like *ζωή, θάνατος, ἀπώλεια, σωτηρία, δικαιοσύνη, πίστις, ἀγάπη, ἐλπίς, μετάνοια, χάρις, κόσμος*, by means of the Christian spirit which found expression in them, came to have a much deeper and more comprehensive signification, and one richer in contents, than these words had in the old Hebrew or in the ordinary Greek.

These three elements, the Greek, the Hebrew-Aramaic, and the Christian, constitute the peculiar mixture of which the language of the New Testament writers is composed. Individual writers are distinguished from one another only in this, that one of the three elements is more or less prominent in the writing of one, and another in the writing of another.[1]

It was after the Reformation that the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek were for the first time carefully investigated and exactly defined. After the investigations, during the seventeenth century, of Solomon Glass (philologia sacra), Caspar Wyss (dialectologia sacra), George Pasor, (Lexicon and Grammar of the New Testament Language), especially Winer has in modern times treated successfully the New Testament language according to a strictly philological method.

G. B. Winer, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms als sichere Grundlage der neutestamentlichen Exegese. Leipzig 1822. In the 7th ed. revised by G. Lünemann, Leipzig 1867. [Winer's Grammar of the New Testament Diction, from the 6th German ed. 2 vols. Edin. 1859. Also, A Treatise on the Grammar of the New Testament, ed. by Dr.

[1] On the character of the New Testament language, compare Schleiermacher, Hermeneutik, p. 54 ff., and p. 138 ff. Winer, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, p. 12 ff. [English translation, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.] Immer, Hermeneutik, p. 12 ff. [Compare also, Briggs, Biblical Study. Edin. 1884, pp. 63–74.]

W. J. Moulton. Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1877.] After Winer may be named:—J. C. W. Alt, Grammatica linguæ græcæ, qua N. T. scriptores usi sunt. Halæ 1829. J. Th. Beelen, Grammatica græcitatis n. t., quam ad G. Wineri ejusdem argumenti librum, germanico idiomate conscriptum, in usum suorum auditorum composuit, etc. Lovanii 1857. A. Buttmann, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs. Berlin 1859. [Buttmann's Grammar of New Testament Greek, translated by Prof. Thayer. Andover 1873.] Among Dictionaries for the New Testament, besides the older works of Schoettgen and Schleusner, the following may be mentioned: —Ch. A. Wahl, Clavis N. T. philologica. Lips. 1822, 1843, 2 voll. C. G. Bretschneider, Lexicon manuale græco-latinum in libros N. T. Lips. 1824, 3 ed. 1840. Ch. G. Wilke, Lexicon græco-latinum in libros N. T. Dresdæ 1839, 1840, ed. 2, 1850. Nova editio, ed. C. L. W. Grimm. Lips. 1862–1868. S. Ch. Schirlitz, Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Giessen 1851. 3 Aufl. 1868. E. F. Dalmer, Lexicon breve græco-latinum ad voces et vocabula librorum N. T. explicande concinnatum. Gothæ 1859. H. Cremer, Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität. Gotha 1866. 2 Aufl. 1872. [Cremer, Biblico-theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek, translated from the 2nd German ed. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1878. 3rd English edition 1880. Robinson, Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, 1st ed. 1836, in a great number of editions. See important preface on the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek.]

§ 26. BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

The exegete must not only be acquainted with the language in which the writings which he has to expound were written; he must also have a knowledge of their authors, and of the period in which they had their origin, and he must be in possession of their original text. Historical investigation in regard to literary sources generally can be prosecuted with success only when the investigator is perfectly certain as to the condition of his sources. Out of this general historical interest criticism had its origin, which as a science has to lay down the principles and rules according to which one must proceed, in order to come to a knowledge of the sources in their very origination in respect of author, time, and text. As the so-called philological criticism, it is the necessary presupposition of historical criticism. While this historical criticism has the task of ascertaining from its sources the fact of its historical truth, philological criticism has to render the sources serviceable to the historian for his scientific purposes. Between the time when the sources had their origin, and the time when they are actually called into requisition by the historian as means of historical proof, there lies possibly a very long interval. In the course of time, the text of the writings may have been in many ways corrupted; doubts, too, may have possibly arisen regarding the time when they were written, and regarding their authors. Hence, it is the task of criticism to determine how we shall proceed in order to remove these doubts and restore the text of the writings to its original purity. Now what has been said applies in a pre-eminent degree to the biblical writings, which are given to the exegete for his historical investigation, and therefore, also, the general philological criticism must be

applied to them. As biblical criticism it does not need to follow any principles essentially different from those required in any other department of historical inquiry, and is modified only by the characteristic peculiarities of biblical literature, and the special circumstances of its history. The relations of biblical criticism to general philological criticism are precisely similar to the relations of biblical hermeneutics to general philological hermeneutics. Only when biblical criticism asserts its strictly historical character is it in a position to rid itself of those very diverse influences lying outside of it, and to maintain that unrestrainedness and freedom, which it must secure to itself, if it is to pursue its work with success. The criticism practised by the supernaturalistic (orthodox) theology, as well as that practised by the rationalistic theology, leads to confusion or bondage. Supernaturalism generally will admit the application of criticism to the biblical writings only to a very limited extent. It also distinguishes here between sacred and profane writings. The former are inspired, and are to be treated by the Church as canonical. Hence criticism may deal freely with profane literature; but in reference to the inspired writings of the Old and New Testament, only verbal criticism can be allowed, and to go farther than this, and to adjudge a canonical writing to a period and to an author which will place it beyond the time at which the canon was closed, this is to cut off an integral part of divine revelation, and to remove a support of the Church. In opposition to this, the criticism of rationalism recklessly makes an inroad upon the very circle of the biblical writings; but its criticism is likewise dominated by the dogma of its system. Thus rationalism is inclined, in accordance with its subjective tendency, to cast out from the canon, as unauthentic, not only particular words, but also particular writings, which contradict its system. From all such one-sided theological interests biblical criticism must keep itself altogether free. As exegetical theology,

according to its task and main end, has an essentially historical character, so must also criticism, as a branch of exegetical theology, be placed unreservedly at the service of its historical activity. Neither in the matter of verbal criticism, nor in the matter of critical research regarding the time and author of a writing, should criticism by any means be determined, or allow itself to be led, in accordance with dogmatic, ecclesiastical, and subjective views and motives, but simply and only by the objective motive, to ascertain what, in its own department of investigation, is historical fact. In this, its purely historical attitude, the real strength of biblical criticism lies. Not revelation and the Church, but only certain theories in regard to these, have anything to fear from criticism. It should rather be said, that just the ascertainment and acknowledgment of historical truth won in the department of biblical inquiry will prove more favourable to the interests of the Church, than the artificial cloaking and covering of things, which lie clearly in view of the non-theological investigator. It comes to this, that if, through the demonstration of criticism, a writing is found not to belong to that writer and to that time, to which it was assigned in the canon, its importance for the Church is not on this account destroyed. Its canonicity was not really dependent upon those historical contingencies, but only upon its contents. If the writing has actually had its origin in the theocratic spirit, or in the spirit of primitive Christianity, it will assert its right to be recognised by the Church as canonical after, as well as before, the critical result had been reached.

Biblical criticism is philological criticism applied to biblical literature. As a theory it has to lay down the principles and rules in accordance with which criticism must proceed. In performing its task, criticism directs its attention, on the one side, to the separate words, sentences, and paragraphs of the writings to be expounded, and, on the other side, to the

authors, and the dates of those writings. The former division of critical science has for its object the establishment of the integrity of a writing, that is, the restoration of the work to its textual purity, as it came at first from the hand of its author. The second division of critical science has for its object the establishment of the authenticity of a writing, that is, the determining of the question as to who was the author, and what was the original date of the writing. In accordance with this twofold function, biblical criticism has had its two divisions distinguished under the designations, the *lower* and the *higher* criticism. This distinction, however, is unwarrantable, inasmuch as in both of its functions biblical criticism is indispensable for exegesis, and so is in both equally capable of vindication. The distinction sought to be made between textual criticism and historical criticism[1] is the result of a misunderstanding, and is not to be justified. Nor is it any more proper, in consequence of a difference in procedure and result, to distinguish between external and internal, negative and positive criticism,[2] since these expressions indicate rather the elements which are present in every critical process.

The first division of biblical criticism, in which the text of the biblical writings, in the form in which it originally proceeded from the author, is to be ascertained, has a very difficult and complicated task. We do not any longer possess the author's original manuscript of any one of the biblical books, but only copies of the original writing. These copies are the manuscripts, the *codici manuscripti*, which form the chief basis for the critical restoration of the text. With these, therefore, criticism has to do in an altogether special manner. In reference to the Old Testament the task is less difficult. For it we have a fixed text, the so-called Massoretic, for which

[1] Pelt, Encyclopædie, p. 152 ff.

[2] Hagenbach, Encyclopædie, § 49. [English translation by Crooks and Hurst, p. 208.]

we have to thank rabbinical scholarship. The Rabbinists devoted themselves with a marvellous diligence to the study of their sacred writings. To this same text they gave its definite form even in its minutest particulars, and at the same time they also endeavoured to secure it against every kind of arbitrary alteration, and put on record the slightest difference in reading which in the course of time had been introduced. This work, which likewise embraces a full commentary on the Old Testament rising out of the long labour of centuries, reached its highest point in the production of the tradition (Massora), which, in a pre-eminent degree, resulted from the labours of the Jewish school at Tiberias between the sixth and eighth century after Christ. All the extant manuscripts, as well as all the printed editions, of the Old Testament represent this Massoretic text, which had been raised by the Rabbinists into a standard. That, besides this text, there was also another in existence in the earliest times, which contained important variations, is proved by the Alexandrian-Greek translation of the LXX. The Alexandrian text, however, has not come down to us in its original form; and so, a judgment upon its character can be reached only by comparing the translation with the Massoretic text. It is not to be denied that, in particular passages and books, it deserves to be preferred to the Massoretic, but, in general, tradition leads to the conclusion that the Massoretic text comes nearest to the original.

Of the New Testament, on the other hand, we possess a great number of manuscripts, which date from very different periods, are of very different kinds, and are in very different states of preservation. The greater the age of these manuscripts, the greater value have they for the critical construction of the New Testament text. It is therefore the business of criticism to determine the paleographical marks by which the age of manuscripts may be proved, and to arrange them accordingly in their historical order. Further, the manuscripts are to be compared with one another, in order that those which

have a common text may be grouped together.[1] Those manuscripts, which have had their origin in the same region or the same place, for the most part, yield also a similar text. There may thus be distinguished separate family groups among the biblical texts, a general division being made into Oriental and Occidental, and the former, again, being divided into Alexandrian, Asiatic (Minor Asia), and Constantinopolitan. Besides the manuscripts, the quotations from Holy Scripture, which occur in the writings of the Church Fathers, are of the greatest importance for the critical restoration of the biblical text. Frequently, in point of age, those quotations rank above the manuscripts, and, when compared with these, lead the critic to the original reading. The old translations of Holy Scripture are of even greater importance, inasmuch as they too in point of antiquity precede the manuscripts. Among these translations are the Septuagint, the old Latin version, commonly called the Itala, the version of Jerome, the Vulgate, and the old Syriac, the so-called Peschito. When departures are found in them from the reading of extant manuscripts, or from the now received text, the so-called *textus receptus*, it becomes possible for the critic, by means of these variations, to guess at what may have been the reading of the original. Upon the basis of these helps toward reaching the original, the critic must proceed with his work. He must compare the manuscripts with one another. Then, in regard to passages that have been quoted by the Church Fathers, he must compare the quotations with the corresponding passages in the manuscripts. The quotations of the same passages made by different Church Fathers must be compared with one another. And finally, the different translations must be compared, both with the manuscripts and with the patristic quotations of Scripture. By means of this comprehensive comparison, a

[1] This is done with special care and elaborateness by Westcott and Hort (The New Testament in the Original Greek. 2 vols. Cambridge 1881), vol. ii. p. 39 ff.—Ed.

great variety of readings, especially in the New Testament text, have been brought to light. These different readings are usually called variations, and it is one of the most important parts of the work of the critic to make so complete a collection of these, that the exegete will be able to take notice of the diversity of reading in regard to any particular passage. An *apparatus criticus* has, with great diligence, been prepared for the Old Testament, and, with yet greater completeness, for the New Testament. This labour has been performed, for the Old Testament, by Kennicott and de Rossi; for the New Testament, by Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, D. Schultz, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, [Alford, Tregelles, Scrivener, Westcott and Hort]. Biblical criticism has in the most recent times been extraordinarily advanced, especially by the unwearied labours of Tischendorf. At the same time, the very massiveness of the critical material collected by him has brought the New Testament text into a condition of uncertainty and confusion, which can be overcome only by the most unremitting critical labour.

The further task of the critic is, from among the various readings that have been collected, to distinguish the erroneous from the true, that is, to find out which are the original. For the successful accomplishment of this work it is necessary that the critic be acquainted with the origin of the variations. They have originated, either unintentionally in a purely mechanical way, in which case they are called corruptions of the text, or they have been intentionally introduced, in which case they are called interpolations of the text. In regard to the former, there is room for a multitude of contingencies and possibilities. The condition of the original manuscript, from which the transcription was made, and the individuality of the person, to whom it was dictated, or by whom the writing was read, come into consideration. In this way the indistinctness of the original manuscript, an imperfect acquaintance with the language, defects of sight

or hearing, erroneous interpretations of abbreviations, the incorporating of glosses into the text, etc., might give occasion to a manifold corruption of the text. And indeed, we may apply all this to the original manuscript itself, inasmuch as even in it, errors, arising from misunderstanding and from defects of hearing, may have found an entrance, for the authors often did not write themselves, but dictated to amanuenses. Interpolations of the text, on the other hand, might be brought about by the introduction of supposed corrections, which would be either of a grammatical or of a lexical kind, where an easier reading is introduced in a difficult passage; or the text might be altered in the interests of a doctrine, in order to gain a scriptural foundation for some doctrinal opinion, and thus to secure for it a wider currency. It is at this point the business of the critic to estimate the various readings in view of all these possible occasions of textual corruption, in order to find out those which have had their origin in corruption or interpolation, and, in accordance with the value which the documentary means of proof, the manuscripts, the quotations, and the translations have for him, to arrive at the original reading. Nevertheless these merely external means are not sufficient. In order to reach the original reading, the critic must, at the same time, inquire about the general connection in which the passage under critical investigation stands, and must take into consideration the characteristics of the writer in respect of language and style, as well as in respect of his general point of view and doctrinal system. The internal grounds thus resulting from the writing itself, upon which a particular reading may be recommended, may possibly prevail against all other external grounds, and a reading that has less support from external grounds may come to be regarded as the original reading.

For the whole course of this so-called combinatory procedure of the critic, theory has laid down certain rules.

These, however, have never come to be regarded as fixed laws, but simply as rules, to which there are exceptions. Thus, for example,—Those among the various readings are to be chosen from which most easily the origin of the others may be explained, since it has evidently in itself the appearance of originality. And again,—From among the various readings those which are most difficult are to be chosen, because generally the difficulty of a reading would lead to the introduction of variations. But if, from the whole of the critical apparatus which we have at our command, it is impossible to gain one reading of the text which recommends itself as the original, and in which both sense and the connection of the passage are fitly represented; then, but only then, the so-called divinatory procedure of the critic may be called into requisition, that is, the critic has to take refuge in a conjecture, and to guess what reading may probably have been the original. In every case, exact and thorough investigation of the critical apparatus, and careful inquiry into the sense and connection of a passage, ought to precede a conjecture; and at the same time, a perfect understanding of the language in which the author wrote, and a perfect acquaintance with the peculiarities of the author in respect of style, mode of representation, and general point of view. The personal and characteristic talents of the critic are not in this way excluded, only they must subordinate themselves to the conditions prescribed by the theory.

The second operation of criticism directs its attention to the authenticity of the writing. A literary work is claimed either by its own statement or by tradition, as the work of a particular author, or it is without the signature of the author, anonymous, and is only described as belonging to a particular age. In the former case, the question is asked, whether it actually belongs to the author to whom it has been ascribed, or whether it is not rather pseudonymous, only assuming the author's name, and to be regarded, therefore, as a false writing,

forged, and unauthentic (*Spurius, νόθος*). In the second case, the question is asked, whether the writing belongs to the age to which it has been ascribed, or whether it has been transferred from a later to an earlier age, or from an earlier to a later. In both cases possibly the criticism may first of all be negative, that is, it simply decides that a writing does not belong to the author and to the age to which it had been ascribed. But it does not require to remain at this merely negative position; it must at the same time be ever striving to reach a positive conclusion. It is not enough that it be proved regarding a writing that it is pseudonymous, but the critic has the further task of ascertaining who the actual author was, if he whose name is given was not really the author. In the same way, it is not enough, in regard to an anonymous writing, to show that it does not belong to the age to which it assigns itself, but over and above this, the age in which it actually had its origin must be determined, and, where that is possible, it should be rescued from its anonymity, and have the name of its author ascertained.

The procedure of the critic in this department also is an extremely difficult one, and in certain circumstances may be a very complicated one. The negative criticism, and also the positive criticism as well, must be guided to their conclusions by external and internal evidence. The external grounds of proof for or against the authenticity are obtained by criticism from the extant historical witnesses regarding the writing. These witnesses, again, have to be examined by the critic in regard to their trustworthiness. They may not agree together; some may be in favour of, and others against, the authenticity. It becomes necessary, therefore, to weigh the value of their testimony, the one against the other. Besides these external grounds of proof, however, the internal evidences must be taken into consideration, that is, the proofs which are derived from the writing itself which is the subject of critical investigation. In that very writing there may lie certain indications

which declare against the pretended author, and cause the writing to be suspected as a forgery. There may be also other writings of the pretended author extant. The writing that is being critically dealt with, therefore, must be compared with the other writings of the same author in respect of language and style, in regard to its general point of view and its whole circle of thought. The internal evidences thus won are to be used in combination with the external; they are to be compared the one with the other; and it is then to be inquired, whether by means of this combinatory procedure a definite result can be reached in regard to the authenticity of the writing. Sometimes in this way only a negative result can be reached, and then, by means of a divinatory procedure, we must have recourse to hypothesis, and from the exact knowledge of the writing, as well as of the literature to which it belongs, and of the general historical relations under which it was developed, we must determine, either the author who wrote it, or the age in which it was written. To a hypothesis no more than a probability can be ascribed; but the higher or lower degree of probability, which it attains unto, determines the value of the hypothesis.

In recent times this critical process has been applied to determine the authenticity of the biblical writings, especially of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Psalms, the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse. In the Old Testament department special service has been rendered by the critical investigations of de Wette, Ewald, Hitzig, Bleek, Hupfeld, Knobel; in the New Testament department, by the labours of Schleiermacher, Credner, Baur, Reuss, Hilgenfeld.

For the study of biblical criticism, the works on biblical hermeneutics already referred to in § 24 may be used, as they for the most part treat also of criticism. Of special importance are the Prolegomena to the critical editions of the New Testament by Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf,

ed. vii. and viii., [Alford, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort]. Compare also, Einleitung in das alte Testament von de Wette, § 102 ff. [English translation by Theodore Parker, 2 vols. Boston 1843.] Einleitung in das alte Testament von Bleek, p. 717 ff. [English translation: Introd. to Old Testament. 2 vols. London 1875. Vol. ii. pp. 358–475.] Einleitung in das neue Testament von de Wette, § 27 ff. [English translation by Frothingham. Boston 1858.] Einleitung in das N. T. von Bleek, p. 679 ff. [English translation: Introduction to New Testament. 2 vols. Edin. 1869, 1870.] Geschichte der heiligen Schriften neuen Testaments von Reuss. Braunschweig 1874, § 351 ff. [English translation, pp. 367–525.] Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das neue Testament von Hilgenfeld. Leipzig 1875, § 164 ff. [The most convenient and comprehensive handbook on the textual criticism of the New Testament is Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, for the use of Biblical Students. Cambridge. 1st ed. 1861, 2nd ed. 1874, 3rd ed. 1883. An admirable popular sketch of the whole field of biblical criticism is given in Briggs' Biblical Study (Edin. 1884). chap. vi. The Text of the Bible (pp. 139–163). chap. vii. The Higher Criticism (pp. 164–213).]

§ 27. JEWISH ARCHÆOLOGY OR ANTIQUITIES.

Every writer is, as such, placed under the influence of the customs of that nation to which he belongs by birth, and of that society amid which he has been reared, has had his education and general intellectual development. His writings may, indeed, be ever so general, in respect of their contents, still they are never altogether dissociated from the natural and national field upon which they have had their origin, but more or less, the natural, social and civil relationship, in the midst of which the author lived, are reflected in them. Hermeneutics must therefore demand that the biblical exegete should also take these relations into careful consideration, if he wishes, in the right way, to estimate and understand his literature as a whole, and in its several parts, in respect of its form and contents. The science of Jewish antiquities is that branch of exegetical theology which enables the exegete to make response to that hermeneutical demand. The source from which it has to be drawn, is chiefly the Holy Scripture itself. In Scripture, however, its materials are always to be met with only in union with other things, and it is pre-eminently the task of this science to gather the scattered materials, and arrange them in systematic order. It ought not, therefore, to consist in a mere dry collection of archæological notices, but an endeavour must be made to give shape to its material drawn not only from written documents but also from actual life. Just for the reason that it presents the material in a connected form, and lays out to view before the exegete a clear picture of the life and manners of the Hebrew people, it will serve him as an auxiliary to Scripture exposition. The science of antiquities must be conceived of in a strictly scientific manner, as the history of the culture of

the Hebrew nation. For this, however, the extant sources would scarcely be sufficient. It will be obliged to satisfy itself with proceeding statistically, and describing the established, and even crystallised, conditions under which the Hebrew people lived. In doing so it should not be overlooked, that both the origin of the race, so far as it can be ascertained, and the changes through which, in the course of history, it has passed, and the foreign influences by which it has been affected, should be taken into consideration and made prominent. In a special way, archæology undertakes to turn to account for its own purposes the geographical and ethnographical results of general Semitic philology, and in the interests of later, especially New Testament, times, to call in the aids of the science of Greek and Roman antiquities.

The following threefold division of archæology will afford the most practical distribution of its copious and varied materials. 1. It represents the Hebrew race in respect of its natural surroundings—(1) In reference to its dependence on nature by reason of the description of the land in which the people dwells, and the products of the land,—biblical geography,[1] and biblical natural history;[2] (2) In reference

[1] C. F. Klöden, Landeskunde von Palästina. Berlin 1817. J. F. Röhr, Historisch-geographische Beschreibung des jüdischen Landes. Zeits 1816. 8 Auflage 1845. [English translation: Rohr's Historico-Geographical Account of Palestine. Edin.: T. & T. Clark.] Karl von Raumer, Palästina. Leipzig 1835. 4 Aufl. 1860. Ed. Robinson, Palästina und die südlich angrenzenden Länder. A. d. Engl. 3 Bde. Halle 1841, 1842. Derselbe, neuere biblische suchungen in Palästina und den angrenzenden Ländern. Berlin 1857. [The English originals: Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa: a Journal of Travels in 1838. London 1841. 3 vols. By the same writer: Later Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions: a Journal of Travels in 1852. London 1856. Rosenmüller, Biblical Geography of Central Asia. 2 vols. Edin. 1836, 1837. By the same author: Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Arabia. Edin. 1841. Carl Ritter, Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula. 4 vols. Edin. 1866. Stanley, Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History. Various editions: 1st in 1856; last in 1881. Conder, Tent Work in Palestine; published by Palestine Exploration Fund Committee. London 1878. Tristram, Topography of the Holy Land. London 1876.]

[2] Scheuchzer, Physica sacra oder heilige Naturwissenschaft der in der heiligen Schrift vorkommenden Sachen. Augsburg 1731–1735. 5 Bde. fol. Tris-

to its dominion over nature in respect of its relations to the land (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hunting, fishing), and in respect of the products of the land by means of the use made of it for the benefit of human needs (dwellings, clothing, ornaments,[1] food, implements, trades, shipbuilding, navigation, commerce). 2. It also considers the people in their relation to the state—(1) In the religious relations to divine service in offerings, vows, and fasts, holy places, persons, and times, as well as lapses into idolatry;[2] (2) In their political relations to the constitution and law of the state;[3] (3) In their private relationships of material, personal, and criminal law, judicial procedure or police;[4] (4) In reference to their international relations in war and peace. 3. It further considers the people as a society—(1) In reference to its family life with its customs; (2) In reference to its social life with its customs, sociability, hospitality, slavery; and (3) Popular education, science and art.

Archæology has to fill up the details of the plan here sketched, and to give a description of the ancient manner of life of the Hebrew people, in respect of its development upon every side, in order that the exegete may be able to appreciate

tram, The Land of Israel: a Journal of Travels in Palestine undertaken with special reference to its Physical Character. London 1865. S. Bochart, Hierozoicon. London 1663–1690. Olaf Celsius, Hierobotanicon sive de plantis scripturæ sacræ. Upsal. 1750. [Duns, Biblical Natural Science. 2 vols. London 1864. Tristram, Natural History of the Bible. London 1867.]

[1] A. Th. Hartmann, Die Hebräerin am Putztische und als Braut. Amsterdam 1809, 1810. 3 Bde.

[2] G. L. Bauer, Beschreibung der gottesdienstlichen Verfassung der alten Hebräer. Leipzig 1805, 1806. 2 Bde. [English translation: Theology of the Old Testament, or a Biblical Sketch of the Religious Opinions of the Ancient Hebrews. London 1838.] K. Ch. W. F. Bähr, Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus. Heidelberg 1837–1839. 2 Bde. 2 Auflage, 1874. J. F. L. George, Die altern jüdischen Feste, mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch. Berlin 1835.

[3] K. D. Hullmann, Staatsverfassung der Israeliten. Leipzig 1834.

[4] J. D. Michaelis, Gründliche Erklärung des mosaischen Rechts. Frankfurt 1770–1775. 6 Bde. [English translation: Commentaries on the Laws of Moses. 4 vols. London 1814.] J. L. Saalschütz, Das mosaische Recht. 2 Bde. Berlin 1846–1848. 2 Auflage, 1853.

and estimate the biblical literature generally, and each particular writing belonging to it, in connection with the national life out of which it arose. The value which archæology has for the exegete lies primarily in the evidence to be obtained from it of the intimate connection of the life of the people as a whole with the national religion. The country which the people inhabited, was the narrow strip of land along the Mediterranean Sea, bounded on the north by Lebanon, on the east by the Jordan, on the south by the Arabian desert. From this centre the little Semitic race, the Hebrews, had to carry out their historical mission, and raise themselves to a position of world-wide significance. The more insignificant the external and human means, which were at the disposal of the nation, the greater, and more deeply effective, must the religious power have been by which it was dominated and directed. The nation regarded its whole state and its whole being from a high divine point of view; all national affairs and social relationships were determined by religious notions and interests. The people had been chosen out from among all other peoples by God, and distinguished as His own people. The country in which they dwelt was given them by God as a possession, as a holy land. All its products are a gift of God to His people, for which they are under obligation to render unceasing thanks. The civil enactments and regulations rest on divine appointment. The families with their possessions exist unalterably according to divine right. The laws under which the people in their everyday life are bound, are the direct expression of the divine will, and have not only civil, but divine, sanction. The worship, with its feasts, is ordained of God, as a centre of unity for all the members and individuals of the nation. The priests are the regular intercessors for the people before God; the kings are the earthly representatives of the heavenly King; the poets, prophets, and wise men of the people are the conductors of the highest form of popular education in the fear and in the

spirit of God. All these lead the congregation of the chosen on to its ideal destiny, and foretell the divine blessings which are to be given it in the future.

By means of these results, which are arrived at by archæology, the proper national illustration for the biblical literature is put within reach of the exegete; and, at the same time, light is shed upon the religion of the Bible itself, the knowledge of which, in its historical peculiarity, is the highest task of the exegete.

The following are the principal archæological works:— J. J. Bellermann, Handbuch der biblischen Literatur, [comprising Biblical Archæology, Chronology, Genealogy, History, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Mythology and History of Idolatries, Antiquities, History of Art, and Sketches of the Scriptural Writers]. Erfurt 1787–1799. 4 Bde. J. Jahn, Biblische Archæologie. Wien 1796–1805. 2 Auflage. Bd. 1, 2, 1818–1825. [English translation: Jahn's Biblical Antiquities. Various editions.] G. L. Bauer, Kurzes Lehrbuch der hebräischen Alterthümer des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Leipzig 1797. W. M. L. de Wette, Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archæologie nebst einem Grundrisse der hebräisch-jüdischen Geschichte. Leipzig 1814. 4 Auflage, bearbeitet von J. F. Räbiger, 1864. E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde. Leipzig 1823–1831. 4 Bde. G. B. Winer, Biblisches Realwörterbuch. Leipzig 1820. 3 Aufl. 1847–1848. 2 Bde. Heinrich Ewald, Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel. Göttingen 1884. 3 Aufl. 1866. Anhang zum 2 und 3 Bd. der Geschichte des Volkes Israel. [English translation: Antiquities of Israel by Heinrich Ewald: from the 3rd German edition. London 1876.] J. L. Saalschütz, Archæologie der Hebräer. Th. 1, 2. Königsberg 1855, 1866. K. F. Keil, Handbuch der biblischen Archæologie. 1, 2 Halfte. Frankfurt am Main 1858, 1859. 2 Ausgabe 1875. Bibellexikon. Heraus-

gegeben von D. Schenkel. 4 Bde. Leipzig 1869–1872. Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums. Herausgegeben von E. C. A. Riehm. Bielefeld und Leipzig 1875 ff. [Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. 3 vols. London 1860–1863. Christian Antiquities, edited by W. Smith and S. Cheetham. 2 vols. London 1879, 1880. Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines, from Time of Apostles to the Age of Charlemagne, edited by W. Smith and H. Wace. 3 vols. London 1877–1882. Work not yet completed. Imperial Bible Dictionary, ed. by Dr. Patrick Fairbairn. 2 vols. London 1866. Kitto, Biblical Cyclopædia, edited by Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander. 3 vols. Edin. 1862.]

28. THE JEWISH HISTORY.

The Jewish history, like the Jewish archæology, answers to a claim made by hermeneutics. Each different national literature has not only some general national characteristic, but it bears, at the same time, the impress of the age to which it belongs. As the history of a people cannot be understood apart from its literature, so also the literature of a people cannot be understood apart from its history. And just because the Jewish history describes the different periods of the Jewish national life, it enables the exegete to comprehend the biblical literature in its dependence upon the national development generally, and the several writings according to the general character of the periods to which they belong. And further, inasmuch as it has to consider the Jewish history, not only in its isolation, but also in light of the relations in which from time to time it stood to other nations, it leads the exegete at the same time to take into consideration, what must always be insisted upon by hermeneutics, the foreign influences which have wrought in the construction of the biblical literature. The Jewish history, however, is of importance, not only for the exegetical treatment of Holy Scripture, but also for the realizing of the general purpose of exegetical theology. Inasmuch as it depicts the operation of the conditions of the age upon the development of religion, and especially, so far as it is possible, makes Christianity to be recognised as the historical product of the national course of development, it obtains for itself, just as archæology does, the general significance of contributing generally to a right appreciation and estimate of biblical religion. Its sources are, partly non-Jewish, partly Jewish. Among the former may be mentioned, the writings of Greek authors,—Herodotus, Ctesias, Polybius,

Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Appian, and the writings of Roman authors,—Livy, Tacitus, Justin, and those of the Egyptian writer, Manetho (about 280 before Christ). But the principal sources are Jewish, and among these especially the biblical historical books, besides which the prophetical, poetical, and didactic writings must also be used, in order graphically to describe the character of an age. For the post-exilian and Roman period, the writings of Flavius Josephus, the son of a Jewish priest, born about the year 37 after Christ, are most profitable. Highly accomplished in all departments of Jewish and Greek learning, Josephus joined the party of the Pharisees, took an active share in the fortunes of his nation, and fought as general in Galilee in the Jewish war against the Romans in the year 67 after Christ. After he had saved his life at the cost of his Pharisaical orthodoxy, and had won the highest favour at court, he died at Rome during the reign of the Emperor Trajan. We have from him a writing in seven books, entitled, *Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου*, a History of the Jewish War, in which he himself had personally taken part. We have also, by the same author, a *Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία*, *Antiquitates Judaicæ*, in twenty books, the History of the Jews from the Creation of the World down to the year 66 after Christ; and another treatise, *Περὶ ἀρχαιότητος Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀπίωνος*, and an Autobiography.[1]

The difficulties with which the exposition of the Jewish history has to contend, lie for the most part in the peculiar condition of its principal sources, the biblical historical books. These difficulties can be overcome only when, just in this very department, the laws which have their application in all other

[1] The best editions of Josephus' works are those of S. Havercamp, Amsterdam 1726, 2 voll. fol.; of Fr. Oberthür, Lipsia 1782–1785, 3 voll. 8vo; of Wm. Dindorf, Paris 1845–1847, 2 voll. 8vo; and of J. Bekker, Lipsia 1855, 1856, 6 voll. 8vo. [English translation of all the Works of Josephus by Wm. Whiston, Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, published in London 1737: often reprinted.]

departments of historical investigation, are obeyed with the greatest strictness. Here, too, philological and historical criticism stand in the most intimate connection with one another. After the exegete, by means of literary historical criticism, has made himself familiar with the age and authorship of the biblical historical books, he must subject their contents to historical criticism, in order to ascertain from them what is historically true. Above all, therefore, he has to take into consideration the character of the Hebrew style of writing history, in which his sources have come down to him. The biblical writers of history have written the history not after the model of objective historical investigation, but under the influence of subjective interests, so that they considered and represented the historical reality in accordance with religious theories and motives. It is, therefore, pre-eminently the duty of the exegete as historian to bring himself thoroughly into sympathy with those ways of thinking, and to distinguish the historical fact from the religious elements with which it is mixed up, or to dismiss, as altogether worthless for historical representation, the narratives, which give themselves out for history, but are rather ideas dressed up in the form of history. This critical operation was long rendered difficult to the exegete, because doctrinal interests were mixed up with the historical inquiry. Theological supernaturalism refused altogether to have anything to do with that critical sifting. Upon the ground of its doctrine of inspiration, it accepted every narrative in the Bible as actual history, and so came into contradiction with all the laws of historical writings elsewhere applicable. This conflict can be avoided only where dogma and history are strictly kept separate from one another. After long struggles the historical principle has been established in theology, that dogmatic presuppositions must be set aside even in biblical historical researches, and in respect of the sources which are at the command of theology, as well as in

respect of those of profane history, legends and myths, and besides these, free poetic treatment, must be admitted. The theological conflict has itself led to a more exact determination of this idea.[1] Generally by legends are understood history altered by the infusion of ideas, by myth is understood the setting forth of ideas by means of history. From both of these we have to distinguish that free poetic treatment which, besides the unpremeditated figure which prevails in the legend and myth, with a definite tendency makes history a contributor to its ideal purposes. The religious spirit which prevailed among the people of God, treated history with the greatest freedom, and the exegete, who employs the biblical historical works for historical purposes, is obliged to be careful, lest he should take poetry for history, and mere poetic forms of expression for plain matters of fact. The less the value which such poetic compositions and stories of a legendary and mythical character have for the political history, the more valuable will they be for the history of the religion of the people.

The Hebrew nation occupies the most important position among the Semitic races to which it belongs, and even generally among the cultured peoples of antiquity. The relation of the simple outward apparatus and the insignificant national means to the world-wide mission in history which this nation accomplished, is an actual evidence that, by means of the history of Israel, not only a human, but a divine work was realized. It runs out into three great periods. The first embraces the earliest times down to that of the kings. The second embraces the period of the kings down to the end of the exile. The third embraces the post-exilian period down to the beginning of Christianity and the

[1] George, Mythus und Sage, Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Entwickelung dieser Begriffe und ihres Verhältnisses zum christlichen Glauben. Berlin 1837. O. Bagge, Das Princip des Mythus im Dienst der christlichen Position. Leipzig 1865.

complete collapse of Judaism under the Roman Empire in the second century after Christ.[1]

The primitive history of the Hebrews is, like that of all ancient races, surrounded by legends and myths. Myths of foreign origin were adopted by the Hebrews and remodelled in accordance with the spirit of Hebraism, so that, under their national Hebrew dress, they have to be reckoned, not so much myths, as rather *theologoumena*, the contents of which have to be taken into account in the history of religion. The old Hebrew legend, with its relics of historical reminiscences, goes back to the immigration of the Hebrews into Canaan under Abraham. Terah, the father of Abraham, went out from Ur of the Chaldees in Babylon[2] toward Haran in the north-west of Mesopotamia, and from thence, out of the Semitic land of Aram, Abraham went with his family into the land of Canaan, which was also Semitic. The inhabitants whom they met with here, were not the original inhabitants of the land, but were also incomers of a Semitic race.[3] According to our mode of reckoning, the immigration of the Hebrews is to be put down somewhere about the year 2200 before Christ. From it, without doubt,

[1] The distinction which Lange, in his Encyclopædie, p. 111, endeavours to make between biblical history and the history of the people of Israel, has no exegetical foundation. What Lange assigns to biblical history belongs exegetically to biblical theology, and the separate treatment of biblical history can only be recommended on the grounds of practical convenience. [Lange's words are these: "The History of the people of Israel treats of the nation as a whole in its historical development, considers it in the mass, according to the predominance of the multitude in it over the elect spirits, the prophets, and therefore, also, leads on to the tragical catastrophe which had its climax in the destruction of Jerusalem. Biblical history, again, cannot indeed altogether overlook this aspect of the Jewish national life; its attention, however, is specially fixed, not on the history of the Jews, but on the history of the Israel, the champions for God, the long line of the heroes of faith, who have been the organs of God's grace for the revelation and accomplishment of salvation in the world." As an example of the treatment of biblical history, as thus conceived, Lange refers to the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.]

[2] Compare E. Schrader, Die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze der Semiten. Zeitschrift der D. M. G. Bd. 27, p. 422.

[3] Compare Ewald, Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Bd. 1. 2 Ausg. p. 301 ff. [English translation, vol. i. pp. 232-255.] Compare also Schrader, *l.c.*

the ethnographical name "Hebrews" is to be derived, and it means "those who have crossed over from the other side of the Euphrates" (Gen. xiv. 13, according to the Septuagint). The patronymic national name "Israel" is derived from the patriarch Jacob or Israel (Gen. xxxii. 28, 29, xxxv. 10; Ex. iii. 16, 18). The Abrahamic family, with its chiefs Isaac and Jacob, lived for 200 or 215 years as a nomadic shepherd tribe in Palestine. Tradition is able to tell more about its outward fortunes than about its spiritual and intellectual development. This much, however, can with confidence be accepted, that the children of Abraham had withdrawn themselves from the worship of the heavenly bodies practised by the Northern Semitic races, and had risen to the worship of the one God, who, as the Almighty, governed the affairs of men. The history of the immediately following period also testifies to the monotheistic conception of God entertained by the patriarchs. But that the patriarchal family had been able, during the period of their nomadic life, to attain unto any degree of literary culture, has no probability in its favour.

Driven by a famine which prevailed in Palestine, Jacob betook himself with his family to Egypt, and by means of his son Joseph, who had previously been carried down into that land, and had already risen to the highest rank in the kingdom, he was prevailed upon to remain there. The Israelites had their residence in the land of Goshen, and continued to follow their occupation as shepherds. Regarding the long period of their Egyptian sojourn, 430 years, tradition has preserved no record. We learn only that the Israelites during this time had increased in an extraordinary manner, that they consequently appeared to the natives to be dangerous, that later Egyptian kings, who were no longer aware of the eminent services of Joseph, or were indifferent in regard to these, oppressed the Israelites, and compelled them to yield hard service, until Moses was raised up to deliver his country-

men from slavery by leading them out. Thus tradition has something to tell only about the passing down into Egypt, and about the end of the sojourn there, but, in regard to the fortunes of the people in Egypt during the interval, it leaves us altogether in the dark. In the history of the period immediately following, no trace is to be found of the Israelites having appropriated to themselves from the Egyptians any special higher culture, during their long residence in Egypt, as in similar cases has so frequently happened. It is, indeed, more than probable that in Egypt they learned the art of writing, the indispensable condition of all literary activity; but, owing to the social condition of the people, it is highly improbable that they should have developed any sort of literary activity while in Egypt, all the more that even tradition says nothing about any literary attempts. In the history of the immediately following period, we have just as little trace of the Israelites having adopted any of the elements of the Egyptian religion. According to tradition, they appear at the time of their departure from Egypt as a whole knit together by the consciousness of their family relationship. This view is further confirmed by the fact that already, at the time of their entrance into Egypt, they possessed a characteristic religious consciousness, that they also preserved this during their residence in Egypt, and that, in consequence of this, they were kept from mixing with the natives, as well as from the adoption of foreign forms of worship. Moses makes his appearance among his people, not as the founder of a religion, but as a reformer. He did not first raise them to the stage of monotheism. He has rather simply won to himself credit for bringing into the consciousness of the delivered people, during their wilderness journey toward their new home, the one God, as the God Jehovah, in whom alone its freedom, its might, its happiness, rests, for setting up the will of God among the people as the law of their life, and binding the people

under an oath to render obedience to the divine law, as the condition of their national independence under the guardianship of Jehovah. Inasmuch as Moses implanted in the Israelites the consciousness of this covenant relationship between God and his people, he was essentially the founder of the Israelitish nationality. By means of his activity as a lawgiver and prophet, he became the originator of a religious-ethical, theocratic commonwealth, which had to develop itself in a long historical career within the limits of a definite nationality, and set in view of his nation the majesty of a theocratic idealism, which would be transcended only when the form of the law, under which this idealism first entered into history, was destroyed. The beginnings of the Hebrew sacred literature are also to be referred to Moses. The unique national consciousness, to which he raised the people, is itself another indispensable prerequisite to any literary activity, and the legislative wisdom which begins in Israel with Moses, and continued after him for centuries, must from the beginning have taken care to fix those laws given by him by means of writing, and to deprive tradition of its influence in recasting these precepts.

With the conquest of Canaan by Joshua we enter upon the heroic age of the Hebrew race,—the period of the Judges, which embraces somewhere about five hundred years. After a settled dwelling-place had been secured, the race abandoned its earlier nomadic habits and applied itself to agriculture, and thus were laid the natural foundations of a truly national life. So far as we can learn the condition of the people during this period from the Book of Joshua and the Book of Judges, the nation was still without a constitution. The Hebrews make their appearance among the Canaanites and their neighbours, not yet as a people united and outwardly bound together into one whole, but the twelve tribes maintain a certain republican independence over against one another, sometimes ruled over by separate Judges, sometimes wholly

giving way to anarchy, sometimes combining together in their attacks upon the Canaanites and the neighbouring tribes, sometimes engaged in internecine feuds. The ideal theocratic consciousness called into being by Moses is evidently not even yet the might which dominates the whole people. There seems rather an inclination to turn away from the ideal religion of Jehovah and to embrace the nature-worship of the Canaanites. It is only by means of a long conflict that the religion of Jehovah succeeds in gaining the victory over the powers of the nature religions. Nevertheless, what Moses had done could not be lost. A prophetic activity, which, by its own free choice, placed itself at the service of Jehovah, continued, up to the period of the Judges, the work of Moses. Then, also, there were among the Judges themselves men who, after Joshua's death and up to the time of Samuel, exercised just such a theocratic activity among the people, inasmuch as, in the name of Jehovah, they led the people against their enemies, in the name of Jehovah, they settled internal disputes among the people themselves, and, in the name of Jehovah, they fought against the idolatrous tendencies of the people. The Judges of this period represent the later kings. But it was pre-eminently the last of the Judges, Samuel, whose work among the people attained to an enduring influence. Devoted to the service of the sanctuary and to the prophets, he fought the Philistines as Judge at the head of the people, he rooted out idolatry, and at Bethel and Gilgal, at Mizpah and Shiloh, in accordance with the ancient forms of worship, he held general assemblies of the people, and met them every year to give judgment. By means of all this he, in a special manner, awakened among the people the consciousness of national and religious unity. In this way he succeeded in giving at last to the life of the people a strong condition by the institution of the kingly office, and to the work begun by Moses a firm historical basis. By means of the kingly office as represent-

ing Jehovah, the people's invisible. King, the twelve tribes were also outwardly bound together into one national whole, while they retained their separate tribal constitution and their tribal chiefs.

In the disturbed age of the Judges, during this period of struggling and striving after national independence, the spirit of the people was roused to higher activity. Even then a popular poetry arose which in its songs celebrated the praise of Jehovah, the praise of heroes and saints, and probably, even at this early date, narratives of the most important historical events were committed to writing, which could be used by later historians. A special service was rendered to the intellectual culture of the people and the consequent development of a national literature by Samuel, through the agency of the schools of the prophets, whether we regard him as their founder or simply as their reformer. The schools of the prophets were free societies for the appropriation of the higher popular culture of the day in the theocratic sense of the word. Music, song, and the art of poetry were prosecuted in them, but specially they were intended for the development of the theocratic spirit. Without doubt they did contribute to securing for the prophetic office that recognised place and function which it maintained during later periods in the kingdom of God, and to the general development of a prophetic literature.

The second period extends from the time of the kings to the end of the exile, that is, from about 1095 B.C. till 536 B.C.

With the institution of the kingly office the theocratic state was established. Under its first three kings, Saul, David, Solomon, each of whom reigned for forty years, from 1095 till 975, the nation, by means of the wars and victories of Saul, and especially of David, was raised to a height of power and renown, which was indelibly impressed upon the memory of the people, so that in following generations the age of David was regarded as the ideal for the future of the

theocratic state, and the Davidic kingdom was looked on as a guarantee of the nation's unity. During the peaceful reign of Solomon the arts and sciences of peace flourished. The connections which he formed with foreign nations gave to his people greater breadth of view, and he rendered the highest service to the consolidation of the theocratic life by the building of the temple. In the royal palace, and in the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, the state had now secured a firm basis. The kingly office and the priestly office were called to work for the maintenance and development of the religion of Jehovah. As the former, by means of its outer and inner power, had to give effect to the divine law, so it was the task of the priesthood, by means of the forms of worship that had been then established, to see to it that the people as a community were kept in strict connection with Jehovah, and that they continued obedient to His law. That theocratic glory, however, was only of short duration. In consequence of the errors into which Solomon fell toward the close of his reign, the division of the divine state into two kingdoms took place,—into the kingdom of Judah, the kingdom of the south, under Rehoboam, and the kingdom of Israel, the kingdom of the ten tribes, the kingdom of the north, under Jeroboam. In the latter, which abandoned the central sanctuary of Jerusalem as well as the divinely-ordained royal house, the theocratic instinct more and more faded away, and high and low gave themselves up to foreign idolatrous practices. The two kingdoms, thus separated, and not unfrequently engaged in war with one another, were powerless against foreign foes, and were exposed to the superior might of the great neighbouring kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria. An end was made of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrian power as soon as the year 722 B.C.; and also the kingdom of Judah, in which the theocratic consciousness had retained greater purity and energy, could not withstand the Chaldæan power; it was overthrown by the Chaldæan king

Nebuchadnezzar, who conquered Jerusalem in the year 588 B.C., destroyed the temple, and led away the greater part of the people into exile. Amid the ruins of Jerusalem all the hopes of the people of God seemed to be buried. However, in the midst of the deepest humiliation, which they had to experience in a foreign land, the faith of the people in their destiny and in the restoration of a theocratic state gained strength. In the Persian king Cyrus, who, in the year 536 B.C., granted the Jews permission to return to their own land, those among the exiles who remained true to Jehovah saw the deliverer, whom God had sent them, in order to fulfil His promises to His people.

This period of the kings, this period of national exaltation, of national division, and of national misfortune, is at the same time the period in which the theocratic spirit rose to be a real power among the people, whose representatives in the freest manner built upon the foundation laid by Moses, and, alongside of the kings and priests, contributed most to the spiritual elevation of the people. What was a living reality in themselves, to that they gave most faithful expression in numerous writings, and in their historical works, poetry, prophecy, and proverbs of wisdom, they created a genuine national literature.

The third period extends from the end of the exile to the beginnings of Christianity and the complete conquest of the Jews by the Romans in the year 135 A.D.

Faith in the promises of Jehovah, who led back those who had been in exile into the holy land, was the ground upon which those returning exiles began the work of restoration. When the exile was brought to an end, its consequences were not ended. Political freedom was not regained by those who returned home. Placed under the Persian supremacy, they were not able to restore the independent national life of the divine state, but only a theocratic commonwealth, to which, immediately after the return,

Zerubbabel and Joshua, and, during the fifth century, Ezra and Nehemiah, in a pre-eminent degree contributed. In the exile, the new generation recognised the judgment threatened often before by the prophets, which Jehovah sent upon His people because of their sins. Taught by means of this great national disaster, this race must have been led to apply themselves with all the greater zeal to the law of Jehovah, and to remove themselves far from anything that was at all opposed to that law, in order to avoid the sins of their fathers, and so not to fall anew under Jehovah's anger. In the most rigid observance of the law, and in the newly-built temple, with its legalistic worship of Jehovah, the community now found its one and only source of strength, and in the priests, instead of the independent kings, they had their highest leaders. This community was subject to a foreign yoke for three hundred years, having been, after the overthrow of the Persian Empire, successively under the dominion of the Græco-Egyptian Ptolemies, and of the Græco-Syrian Seleucidæ. It was, nevertheless, able, upon the foundation of legal worship and priestly government, to maintain its hopes of future glory. With reference to the Jews of this period collectively, the community at Jerusalem had gained the highest national importance. Since the exile, the dispersion of the Jews among foreign nations had been always assuming greater dimensions. While a not inconsiderable number of those who had been in exile remained behind in Babylon, and then again, very soon after the destruction of the city, a part of those who had not been led away into captivity sought refuge from the Chaldæan dominion in Egypt, many Jews, partly under compulsion, partly of their own free will, came under the Greek dominion in the principal cities of the Grecian Empire, at Alexandria and Antioch, and, still farther away, in the islands and in the cities of the West. All these Jews of the dispersion, wherever they had settled in sufficient numbers, organized themselves into independent communities;

and although indeed many individuals, in consequence of favour shown by foreigners, by reason of Greek culture and habits, were drawn away from their ancient national religion, yet the majority, notwithstanding that they had adopted the Greek language, and had become acquainted with the products of the Greek intellect, remained true to the faith of their fathers. Those scattered Jewish congregations saw in the mother Church at Jerusalem, with its temple and its priestly ranks, the grand centre by means of which they were bound together into one national and religious fellowship. The last sacred possession that was still here preserved to the people, the possibility of worshipping according to the law, was threatened, when Antiochus Epiphanes, assisted by apostate Jews themselves, undertook, about the year 167 B.C., to set up the Greek ritual in the temple at Jerusalem instead of the worship of Jehovah, and to compel the Jews to observe Greek customs. Those among the people who were true to Jehovah were now roused to engage in an enthusiastic struggle on behalf of their sanctuary and the ancient customs of their fathers, and, as it were, by a sudden rush, their enthusiasm won a glorious victory over the great Syrian host. By means of the heroic acts of the Maccabees, the theocratic state was once more restored to political independence; but, weak in comparison with those around, and disturbed within by the party jealousies of Pharisees and Sadducees, and by misunderstandings among the members of the Asmonæan family itself, it fell under the dominion of the Romans as early as the year 63 B.C. The later Asmonæan and the succeeding Idumæan princes prolonged their reign under Roman supremacy. By the favour of Rome the theocratic state led a mere phenomenal existence, and continued its descent toward final overthrow.

The condition of political dependence, and the dominion of the law and the priests, upon which the new commonwealth was established, prevented the literary talent of the nation, during the first centuries after the exile, from venturing upon

any lofty flight. The priestly-legal spirit dominated the literature of this period. Prophecy had lost the free national ground upon which alone it could flourish. The idea of any immediate operation upon the people by means of the living word in the power of the Spirit of Jehovah was excluded. In correspondence with the character of the community, the law became the one subject of study. The elaborate learning of the scribes begins its activity with the times of Ezra, and the intellectually poverty-stricken present seeks to retain and render accessible the literature of antiquity, in which the treasures of theocratic truth are contained. It was the wonderful success of the battles of the Maccabees that first gave to the national hopes new sustenance and a new life. Prophecy now applies itself predominantly to the future of the people of God, and passes over into apocalyptic vision, which proclaims, as the conclusion of the great struggle between heathenism and the people of God, the near approaching universal supremacy of the Jews. In Greek culture the Jews of the dispersion find the obstacle to a deeper intellectual activity. They make the highest ideas of Greek philosophy their own, and seek by means of an artificial treatment to bring the new world of thought into harmony with the truths of their ancient revealed faith.

During this period of national decline, of political dependence, of intellectual impoverishment, of religious stagnation, of overstrained expectations and spiritual commotions, Christ appeared among His people. Linked firmly on to that eternal truth, upon which the old covenant of God with His people rested, He created, by means of the revelation proceeding from Him, the new covenant of God with mankind. The historical mission of the Jewish race was with Him brought to a close. In the sentence of death which they pronounced upon Christ, they uttered the sentence of death against their own nation. In behalf of national hopes, to which Christ had already given a spiritual interpretation, they shed their

blood in a fanatical struggle against the Romans. This led to the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D. Only once afterwards, by their Messiah Bar Cochba, they were led into a general rising against the Roman dominion under the Emperor Hadrian, who, after obtaining the victory, built upon the site of the City of God Ælia Capitolina, and thereby rendered vain all schemes of Jewish dominion. From this time forth the Jews have appeared in history as a scattered and unsettled, wandering race, a fate which has befallen them because they persistently deny the greatest fact of their own history, and live under the delusion that the old promise is not yet fulfilled, and that, after the spiritual Messiah appearing in Christ, there shall yet another earthly Messiah come for the advancement of His people.

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§ 29. BIBLICAL ISAGOGICS, OR INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Since the biblical writings form a national literature, for the understanding of which hermeneutics must demand the grammatico-historical exposition, there follows the necessity of an exegetical department of study, which has to set forth this literature in its entirety as the product of the national spirit, according to the various directions in which it seeks for itself literary expression, and according to the various phases of its historical development. It is the part of this branch of exegetical theology to put the exegete in a position to estimate each writing, which forms a constituent part of this literature, as to its general tendency, and as to its particular expressions and words, in connection with the national spirit and the writings homogeneous to it, and also to view each writing according to the characteristics of the age to which it belongs. The so-called Introduction to the Old and New Testaments ought, indeed, to treat of the Old and New Testament writings as a whole; hitherto, however, it has but little regarded the limits which, from the exegetical standpoint, are assigned to it. It forms one of the oldest branches of theology, and has, with the name which it obtained in its beginnings, maintained its unscientific character up to the most recent times. Adrianus, who, as early as the fifth century, wrote his *εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*, and gave the name to this department, and besides him also in the fifth century, Eucherius, then, in the sixth century, Junilius and Cassiodorus, presented in a collective form the different studies which, up to that time, had been exercised upon the study of Scripture. In their writings are to be found, mixed up together, most of the exegetical branches, which in modern times are treated inde-

pendently, and now form the sum-total of exegetical theology. Their standpoint for the treatment of Scripture is the ecclesiastical-dogmatic. Their tendency leads them pre-eminently to the proving, for the purposes of the Church, what writings belong to the canonical, that is, to the revealed and inspired, Scriptures, and how the meaning thereof is to be understood in a way worthy of God.

The exegetical material of the ancient Church, together with some inconsiderable additions, which were made to it during the Middle Ages, was, in the Roman Catholic Church, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, gathered together by Sanctes Pagninus and Sixtus of Sienna, so as to form one theological department under the name of Introduction or a sacred *Bibliotheca*. The same was also done for Protestant theology. The traditional form, and particularly the ecclesiastical-dogmatic treatment, were also adopted by Protestant theology, as, for example, in the seventeenth century by Rivetus and J. H. Hottinger, and in the eighteenth century by J. Chr. Wolf and J. G. Carpzov. But even during the seventeenth century, under the influence of Baruch Spinoza, and during the eighteenth century, in the Roman Catholic Church under the influence of Richard Simon, and in the Protestant Church under the influence of John Solomon Semler, a start was made in the direction of a historical treatment of Holy Scripture. The historico-critical now takes the place of the dogmatical standpoint for the treatment of Scripture. This new departure was represented in the Introductions of J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bauer, Augusti, Bertholdt, and de Wette; while the old dogmatic style found new representatives among the Roman Catholics in Jahn, Herbst, and Scholtz, and among Protestants, in Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Keil. But although these two standpoints are so directly and diametrically opposed to one another in the treatment of Scripture, the two schools are thoroughly agreed as to the treatment of Introduction. Both stand under the

blighting tyranny of custom. From its very nature the *ecclesiastical-dogmatic* standpoint cannot free itself from this. Starting in its theory from revelation and inspiration, it treats Holy Scripture as a purely divine work, and regards the biblical books, not as historical, but as canonical, so that its interest in biblical Isagogics does not lead to a striving after the attainment of a historical acquaintance with the biblical writings, but simply to an endeavour to secure a conviction of their genuineness and integrity, and generally of their canonicity. In the case of the *historico-critical* standpoint, however, the matter is altogether different. After the material of exegetical theology had been extraordinarily enriched, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by means of valuable philological, critical, historical, and geographical researches, and the various constituent parts thereof had become consolidated into independent exegetical branches, it then became the task of those occupying the historico-critical standpoint, from the historical point of view to mark off the limits of Isagogics over against the other exegetical branches, and to give it an independent scientific form. Nevertheless, criticism was not yet in its beginnings sufficiently freed from that which was opposed to it, to be able to accomplish this. Instead of representing the biblical writings as a historical whole, it was satisfied with indicating the contradiction which exists, at certain points, between the dogmatic conception of Scripture and the facts of history; and instead of seeking out a definite principle as a standard for the adoption and arrangement of its contents, it allowed itself rather to be led by practical interests, to give a place in the department to everything which stood in any sort of relation to Holy Scripture, and could thus in any way serve as an introduction to Holy Scripture. From neither of these sides, neither from the dogmatic nor from the critical, had it been found possible to rise above the traditional formlessness of Isagogics, and the merely bibliographical treatment of the biblical books. Thus

de Wette, in the first section of his Introduction to the Old Testament, defines Introduction as a presentation in a collected form of certain pieces of preliminary information necessary for a right conception and treatment of the Bible, which are held together as one whole by their practical aim, and their relation to the history of the Bible. Also Dr. Schrader, who has revised the eighth edition of de Wette's Introduction, accepts this definition, and seeks in justification of it to call attention to the actual performance of the task of Introduction wrought out upon these lines. If one did resolve to put a limit to the contents of Isagogics at any point, he could do so, not on the ground of any fixed principle, but rather on the ground of the practical impossibility of mastering and setting forth the multiplicity of the material. Under shelter of this definition, however, one might include in Isagogics, if he pleased, the various exegetical branches, which should indeed contribute their aid to Isagogics, but should not import into it their whole material.

Thus, up to quite recent times, biblical Isagogics continued a mere chaotic confusion, an unscientific gathering together of learned notes of the most diverse kind regarding the Bible and the several biblical books. Even Schleiermacher in his Hermeneutics and Criticism, p. 36, regards the customary Introduction simply as practical-serviceable, not as an organic part of theological science. He quite properly characterizes it as "a science, which has really no limits, into which one may cast what he will," for really there is no attempt made to ground it upon any fixed principles. But the question which he raises, whether there may not be such principles, is immediately answered by himself, when he says that the principle lies in the historical connection (Hermeneutik und Kritik, p. 379 f.). Now this principle, that each particular is to be conceived of as a historically connected whole, is in fact the principle which has to be applied to the whole department of biblical Isagogics. As the subject of Isagogics is historical, it can be properly treated only when that

principle is assumed as the fundamental principle of its treatment. Dealt with after this fundamentally historical method, biblical Isagogics gains for the first time a truly scientific form, and then, also, attains its proper position in the circle of the theological sciences. Its task consists essentially in conceiving of and representing the biblical writings, and those related to them, in respect of their origin and their characteristics, as the product of the Hebrew national mind, viewed according to its historical development, as a national literature. The utterly unsatisfactory and unscientific conception of the department favoured by the name Introduction is, therefore, along with the name, to be discarded for one which will clearly and definitely express the idea of this exegetical department. Biblical Introduction is, according to its idea, the history of the Hebrew-Jewish national literature. So conceived, this exegetico-theological department gets a place on equal terms side by side with the history of all other literatures, and has to vindicate its scientific character just by performing its allotted task in a strictly historical manner. Already this has been acknowledged and acted upon from various sides. Reuss and Hupfeld especially have contended against the unscientific character of the biblical Introduction of former times: Reuss in his history of the sacred writings of the New Testament (Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments. Halle 1842. 5 Ausgabe, 1874), and Hupfeld in his work on the idea and method of the so-called biblical Introduction (Ueber Begriff und Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitung. Marburg 1844). Those two scholars agree in assigning its place to biblical Introduction completely under the historical point of view, in claiming for it scientific independence as a history of the biblical literature, and also, in giving it this name in exchange for that by which it previously had been called. However, while they quite rightly emphasize the idea of the historical, they yet give to the idea of the historical

such a wide comprehension, that in this way, again, the scientific character of this department is endangered, and the limits of exegetical theology are overstepped. Both of these writers, for example, understand the history of biblical literature generally as the history of the Bible, and thus drag everything that is in any way connected with the fortunes of the biblical writings into the range of their history. In five books, Reuss treats of the New Testament literature. We have: 1. The History of the Origin of the New Testament Sacred Writings (History of the Literature); 2. History of the Collection of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament (History of the Canon); 3. History of the Preservation of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament (History of the Text); 4. History of the Spread of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament (History of the Translations); and, 5. History of the Theological Use of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament (History of Exegesis). Hupfeld divides the history of the biblical literature into two periods. The first period embraces the history of the biblical literature during the period of its formation; the second contains the history of the Bible as Holy Scripture within the synagogue and church. In this second part, the history of the canon, the history of the text and its critical treatment, the history of exegesis, the history of translations, the history of the use and spread of the Bible in the Church, are included.

Against this wide conception of the history of biblical literature, Hagenbach in his Encyclopædia (Encyclopædie, p. 151. English translation, pp. 191, 192), and E. Meier in his History of the Poetical National Literature of the Hebrews (Geschichte der poetischen National-literatur der Hebräer. Leipzig 1856), in his preface, p. 3 ff., bring well-grounded objections. If the biblical literature be viewed as a national literature, its history, just like that of any other literature, must confine itself within the limits of the national historical field to which the literature belongs. The history of biblical

literature, as the history of the Hebrew-Jewish national literature, has, therefore, its scientific principle in the national-historical development. Upon the ground of this principle it has to determine the material of which it has to treat, and to protest against any limitation thereof contrary to its principle, just as much as against any expansion thereof in contradiction to its principle. Its undue limitation is peculiar to the ecclesiastico-dogmatic standpoint, according to which Introduction has to take for its subject only the canonical books of Holy Scripture. Historically considered, this is altogether unjustifiable. It has rather to embrace within its range not only the writings regarded by the Church as canonical, but generally, all writings which took their rise from the Hebrew-Jewish nation during its historical existence. Thus it has to consider also the so-called *apocryphal* and *pseudepigraphical* writings, which originated in the ages of later Judaism and the early Christian Church. Hence also it is inadmissible to set Canonics, as Rosenkranz in his Encyclopædia, p. 116, does, in place of Introduction. Rosenkranz divides Canonics into three parts: 1. The Inspiration (*Theopneustie*) of the Canon; 2. The Genesis of the Canon; and 3. The Credibility (*axiopistie*) of the Canon. At the basis of this proposal there lies a Church idea, according to which the branch of study treated of retains, on one side, a dogmatic material foreign to it, and on the other, limitations which, by reason of its historical principle, it must overstep. But equally irreconcilable with this its principle is that enlargement which Reuss and Hupfeld have given to this department. What these scholars import from the history of the canon, from the history of the critical treatment of the biblical text, and from the history of translations, into this department, lies for the most part outside of the limits of the national-historical development; and what they introduce from the history of the exposition of the Bible and from the history of the use and spread of the Bible in the Church, lies completely outside of

that development. These latter elements are, therefore, to be altogether excluded from this branch of study, while the former are only to be admitted in so far as they still lie within the range of the national-historical development. The greater part of all this wide range of material belongs, partly to dogmatics, partly to biblical criticism and hermeneutics, partly to the history of exegesis, and partly to Church history. The history of biblical literature has to concern itself only with that which Reuss treats of in his first Book and Hupfeld in his first period, with the biblical literature during the period of its formation, which Hupfeld calls the pre-canonic or primitive history of biblical literature. Only after the limitation of its material has been agreed upon will it be in a position for accomplishing its task, the describing of the course of the formation of the Hebrew literature from its first beginnings down to the decline of the Jewish national and civil life, and the giving of a vivid picture of the spiritual productivity to which the Hebrew race, according to its historical mission, has given a permanent form by means of its literature.

The division and arrangement, as well as the subject-matter, of the history of biblical literature must be determined in accordance with its historical principle. First of all, the universally prevalent division of Isagogics into Introduction to the Old Testament and Introduction to the New Testament, which is especially misleading to those entering on their theological studies, calls for consideration. The partition is often made in such a thoroughgoing manner, that it might give the idea that the two Introductions were two distinct exegetical branches. If, however, as is now generally admitted, the New Testament can be understood in its essential truth only when viewed in its historical connection with the Old Testament, then this connection must have expression given to it in the history of both Testaments. Since the New Testament makes its appearance as the conclusion of the

historical development of a national literature, the Old and New Testaments are brought together under the idea of biblical literature. They both together form a single historical whole and are to be regarded as the product of one national spirit, in which there is transmitted that divine revelation which was to issue from Israel unto all nations. In consequence, however, of the importance which the New Testament has as the beginning of a new development of the world's history, the separate treatment of its history is quite justifiable; and so we have the Old and the New Testament Introduction as the two sections of the one history of biblical literature. For scientific, and, at the same time, academic use, separate treatment of the two may be recommended; but, while the separation is made, it must be remembered all the time that the two are historically one.

Further, it has been customary to divide both the Old Testament and the New Testament Introduction into a General and a Special Part. Now the General Part is just the place in which that practical aim can get free scope, gathering together all possible learned apparatus, if only in any way it may serve as an introduction to Holy Scripture. This apparatus in great measure does not belong to the particular branch of study before us. But, apart even from this, the mode of procedure is in conflict with any historical treatment of the subject. For it is in fact quite abnormal to treat in the General Part of the collection of the biblical writings, of the condition of their text, of the methods of their exposition, of their translations, etc., while, for the first time, in the Special Part, notice is taken of the main subject, the biblical writings themselves. Hence, both on material and formal grounds, this General Part is altogether objectionable. In accordance with the remarks previously made in reference to the history and idea of this branch of study, an Introduction must confine itself within its own limits, and must consequently restrict itself to the history of biblical literature.

In such an Introduction, we are required to develop the postulates of biblical literature, and the historical foundations from which it proceeds, and by means of which it should be conditioned during the whole course of its development. The material that is to contribute to the placing of biblical literature under the proper light for understanding the national element has to be borrowed by Introduction from biblical linguistics, archæology, and history. As thus limited, Introduction has to characterize the Hebrew language and the Hebrew writings, according to their origin and history, but it has pre-eminently to determine the national peculiarities that appear in the spirit of the Hebrew race on the basis of the results of the history of its culture. Like other cultured races of antiquity, the Hebrews have created a thoroughly original literature. In such a literature a people always gives expression to the innermost essence of its spiritual and intellectual life. It is with races as with human individuals; they are distinguished from one another by means of their proper and peculiar character. Now the national character of the Hebrews, as the result of their historical culture, was distinctly religious. The religious-theocratic consciousness was the characteristic feature of the national life, and therefore had to find expression also in its literature. Hebrew literature, therefore, has always a thoroughly religious impress. It is the classical creation of a national cast of mind that is characteristically religious in its inmost core. Since, however, these intellectual characteristics of the nation passed through various stages of development, the literary activity of the people must also have been affected by the influence of these changes. Hence it is not enough to arrange the biblical literature in the ordinary way according to a mere material distribution. It must rather be also classified according to the chief periods of the nation's history. In accordance with this idea it has to be set forth in three periods. The first period extends from the earliest times down to the time of the kings,—the period

of the beginnings of the national theocratic life and literary activity. The second period extends from the time of the kings down to the end of the Babylonian exile,—the period which may be called the golden age of the national civil life and the national literature. The third period extends from the exile down to the second century after Christ,—the period of national dissolution and overthrow, and of literary impoverishment. The first part of the history of biblical literature embraces the Old Testament literature under these three periods. The second part embraces the New Testament literature. In the third period, that of dissolution, Christianity makes its appearance as elevation amid overthrow, as victory in the midst of defeat, and together with the spirit which it created, a new literature, which grew up on the old national soil, breaks through the limits of nationality, and forms the beginning of an endlessly rich, universally human literature, behind which the Old Testament literature retires to a great distance.

In the first period, only attempts and beginnings of a literary productivity are to be found; but in these primitive utterances the main directions, in which the literary activity of the Hebrew spirit was to be exercised, are already shown. In the second period, these literary tendencies are already represented by means of a rich literature, of which indeed only a small part remains to us, and it is from those remnants that the distribution has to be attempted, according to which the various writings of the period are to be arranged into connected groups. By the Palestinian Jews and the Masoretes, the Old Testament was divided into the Law, the תּוֹרָה (Torah), the Five Books of Moses; the Prophets, נְבִיאִים; and the Hagiographa, כְּתוּבִים: and the Prophets, again, were divided into the Earlier, רִאשׁוֹנִים, and the Later, אַחֲרוֹנִים. To the Earlier Prophets the historical books, from the Book of Joshua down to the Books of Kings, were reckoned. The Later Prophets, again, were distinguished as the Greater and Smaller

Prophets. All the other writings were placed under the Hagiographa. This division was evidently made in the interests of the national worship, and made no pretence to be a historical representation. But even the division adopted by the Alexandrian translators, then by the Vulgate, and from these by Luther also, into historical, poetical, and prophetical writings, which, with some diversity in the arrangement of the classes, has been adopted in most of the Old Testament Introductions, does not entirely correspond to the historical facts. The division must connect itself with the actual utterances of the life of the national spirit. At the very founding of the theocratic state, the demand was forthwith made for information regarding the sources and the continued development of the national theocratic life. To the legends prevalent during the first period there now follows that style of historical writing, which, by reason of the theocratic pragmatism which dominates it, maintains its essentially national impress. In its thorough decisiveness, attained by means of divine truth received, the national spirit finds expression most clearly in the poetry which, in correspondence with the national character, confines itself to the sphere of lyrical poetry, and by preference to that of religious lyrical poetry. In prophecy, which is the intellectual tendency most characteristic of Hebraism, the theocratic spirit asserts itself over against the decline from the ideal unto which the people had been called. In the criticism of the present it points to the theocratic fulfilment of the future. Further, alongside of that legislative and political wisdom, the products of which were incorporated in this historical writing, a place was demanded by the religious ethical wisdom of the life, which, in its proverbs, which had their foundation in the law, set forth the rules of a God-fearing attitude, and made advances toward the solution of the highest problems of the consciousness of the people. In accordance with this conception, the writings of the second period are to be divided into historical,

poetic, prophetic, and didactic. These four literary tendencies have taken their origin from the most decidedly peculiar and individual trait of the Hebrew national character, and have given to Hebrew literature the impress of its originality. They therefore repeat themselves also in the third period, only modified by reason of the political condition and the intellectual tendency peculiar to the post-exilian generation. The Hagiographa, which belongs in part to this period, represents the same tendencies as the Old Testament Apocrypha, the pseudepigraphic writings, and the works of Philo and Josephus. The writing of history has lost its old prophetic character. At most it stands under the influence of the sacerdotal-legalistic spirit of the age, and attains its consummation in the comprehensive historical work of Josephus. Poetry comes to be simply temple poetry, and by degrees becomes silent. Prophecy has a similar character, but has its representative in the Apocalypses.[1] The didactic literature, with the exception of Koheleth, which proclaims a wisdom altogether new to Israel, is pre-eminently represented in the apocryphal books, and, in the works of Philo, passes over into a philosophy profoundly penetrated by the Greek spirit. And now just at this time there arose a special literary activity, Scripture learning or the learning of the scribes, which concerned itself with the old national literature in the interests of the Church of the people for liturgical purposes; and, in connection therewith, there should also be reckoned the liturgical employment of the old literature. This activity was a threefold one: (1) An activity exercised in collecting (the Origin of Old Testament Canon); (2) an exegetical activity (the oldest Translations of the Old Testament); and

[1] Compare Lücke, Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannes und die sogenannte apocalyptische Literatur. 2 Auflage. Bonn 1852. [Reuss, History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age. London 1872. Vol. i. p. 369 ff. Reuss, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. Edinburgh 1884. P. 154 ff.] Hilgenfeld, Die jüdische Apocalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung. Jena 1857.

(3) a critical activity (the Establishment of the Old Testament Text).

To the second part, the history of the New Testament literature, an Introduction is to be prefixed, in which generally the relationship of Christianity and Judaism in their historical connection and difference, their gradual separation from one another, and the various intellectual and spiritual tendencies in the primitive Christian community, are to be discussed. In succession to this there comes the history of the gradual gathering together of the New Testament writings into one collection, as a testimony of the ancient Church to the value which those writings possess as the historical documents of primitive Christianity. Christ, as fulfiller of the Old Testament, and founder of the New Testament, has not given forth in writing any testamentary document, but, by means of the living word and deed, He has confirmed its establishment. He wrought, however, among the theocratic people, from whom should come the salvation of mankind, and the literature, which was first of all called forth by means of His works, arose upon the same national soil with the Old Testament literature. Hence also the form and style of the Old Testament literature reappear in the New Testament. Thus, the Church of God founded by Christ pictured its establishment and early fortunes in historical writings, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The early Christian didactic writings are represented by the Pauline and Catholic Epistles. Poetry blended with the idealism of Christian hope, and raised itself, in the Apocalypse of John, to the magnificent representation of the final judgment of prophecy and the unquestionable victory whereby the whole kingdom of God overcomes the world. The writings of the so-called New Testament Apocrypha attach themselves to the principal writings, and are to be taken up at fit places in the exposition.[1] This con-

[1] C. Tischendorf, Acta apostolorum apocrypha. Lipsiæ 1851. Evangelia apocrypha. Lipsiæ 1853. Apocalypses apocryphæ. Lipsiæ 1866. Hilgenfeld,

tinuity of the literary expression leads up to the treatment of the New Testament literature in close connection with the Old Testament literature. As the Apocalypse of John can only be rightly understood from the older prophecy and from the modern Jewish apocalyptics, so also must the didactic and the historical writings of the New Testament be expounded with reference to the doctrine of wisdom that went before, and the peculiarities of the Old Testament style of historical writing.

Under each of those periods a separate treatment has to be given to those writings which represent a particular tendency. Each writing must be characterized in accordance with that which is peculiar to it. Its form, language, and style, its contents, the fundamental ideas which it developes, the peculiar ideas which it contains, are to be discussed; the time at which it was written is to be made historically clear; the author, where this is possible, is to be depicted according to the circumstances of his life, in order that the writing may be recognised as a product of a particular time and of a particular personality. It is especially here that criticism with its laws and rules finds its application. The history of biblical literature must be a thoroughly critical one, but it must not incorporate in itself the theory of criticism. The history of biblical literature must be constructed out of the national actual life in order to overthrow the schematism in which it has been customary to confine it, and to bring everything, down to each particular writing, into the living stream of history. In the latter connection, Baur of Tübingen along with his school has rendered most important service, especially in reference to the New Testament literature. Although one may not be able altogether to agree with the results to which he attains in regard to the Gospels and the

Novum testamentum extra canonem receptum. Lipsiæ 1866. [B. H. Cowper, Apocryphal Gospels and Documents relating to Christ. London 1867. S. Baring-Gould, The Lost and Hostile Gospels. London 1874. Most recently and of special importance: R. A. Lipsius, Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. 2 Bände. Braunschweig 1883, 1884.]

Pauline Epistles, yet he will be obliged thoroughly to accept in principle the historical standpoint which he assumes. The reproach might rather be brought against him, that, in his historical investigations, he allows himself to be led by certain philosophical presuppositions, and that he attends too little to the historical connection in which the New Testament and the Old Testament literature stand with one another. In this department the purely historical procedure is the truly philosophical.

Answering to those historical requirements, which in the present are to be made of an exposition of biblical Isagogics, to mention only those of the most recent times, are the Introductions to the Old and the New Testament by Bleek, and, besides Reuss' History of the New Testament Writings, also Hilgenfeld's Introduction to the New Testament.

Friedrich Bleek, Einleitung in die heilige Schrift. 1 Theil. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Herausgegeben von Johannes F. Bleek und A. Kamphausen. Mit Vorwort von C. I. Nitzsch. Berlin 1860. 4 Auflage bearbeitet von J. Wellhausen. 1878. [English translation from the second German edition of 1865: Introduction to the Old Testament. London 1869. 2 vols.] 2 Theil. Einleitung in das Neue Testament. 1 und 2 Auflage. Herausgegeben J. F. Bleek. 3 Auflage besorgt von W. Mangold. Berlin 1875. [English translation from the second German edition: Introduction to the New Testament. Edinburgh 1869–1870. 2 vols.] A. Hilgenfeld, Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Leipzig 1875. [Keil's Introduction to the Old Testament. Edinburgh 1869–1870. 2 vols. Translated from the second German edition. De Wette, Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament. Translated by Theodore Parker. Boston 1843. 2 vols. De Wette, Historico-critical Introduction to the Canonical Books of the New Testament. Boston 1858. Dr. Samuel Davidson, Introduction to the Old Testament. London 1863. 3 vols. Introduction to the New Testament. London 1848–1851. 3 vols.]

§ 30. EXEGESIS.

Exegesis is applied hermeneutics. If hermeneutics lays down the theory of exposition, then exegesis shows how the exegete, in the performance of exposition, has to bring the theory into application and accomplishment. It is intended to interpret a world of thought to which a distinct literary impress has been given, and to make it clear to others. For this end the exegete cannot dispense with the theory; but the theory alone is not sufficient. As the theory of an art does not make the artist, so hermeneutics does not make the exegete. Exegesis, which determines the practical procedure of the exegete, demands, besides the objective conditions which hermeneutics lays down for the understanding of Scripture, certain subjective conditions, a certain spiritual disposition of the exegete, without which even the best theory will not lead to the proper end. A historical sense, liveliness of spirit, fancy, the gift of sharp apprehension, discretion, logical acuteness, æsthetic tact, are in general the qualifications which, before all theory, are to be presupposed in the exegete, and which qualify him for passing over easily into a world of thought altogether strange, and also for representing to others the results of his labour with clearness, precision and perspicuity. But especially between the exegete and the literature expounded by him there must exist a spiritual affinity. With reference, therefore, to the essentially religious content of biblical literature, the exegete, who is to arrive at an understanding of it, must above all be endowed with a religious sense, and must engage upon its exposition with a religious interest. As the philologist, in order to gain an understanding of Greek literature, must be endowed with an æsthetic and philosophical spirit and interest, so must also

the theologian, as a biblical exegete, have on his part a spirit in sympathy with his literature, and must be able heartily to pass over and surrender himself up to the spirit out of which it arose, and to enter into the peculiar religious views which are delivered in it. In so far the demand, which has always been made by the Church theology, that Holy Scripture is to be read *cum spiritu sancto*, has its truth also for the exegete. All these qualifications are quite apart from the theory, and, as the natural endowment of individuals, resist all further scientific determination. In their combination they constitute that geniality which, as an essential condition of exegetical success, raises the work of exposition into an art of exposition. But even the highest artistic endowment does not yet make the artist. Geniality, if it is to be preserved from bypaths and errors, must submit to the discipline of the theory. It can succeed in producing really artistic work only when it binds itself with the theory, and makes itself so thoroughly acquainted with it, that the theory becomes to it just a second nature. Exegesis, too, has to demand of the exegete most highly endowed by nature, that in his exposition he shall invariably follow the hermeneutical theory. The most general law which it laid down, was that of the objective interpretation of Scripture. To it must the exegete, and especially the *genial* exegete, subordinate himself, if his geniality is to bear fruit for exegesis. However hard it may be, it is nevertheless indispensable for the exegete that with all resignation he put to silence his subjectivity, while engaged in the work of exposition, and that he neither import his own subjective views and notions into the thoughts of his author, nor allow the thoughts of his author to be curtailed and mutilated from subjective interests. The method which, in consequence of that law, hermeneutics prescribed for the procedure of the exegete, was the grammatico-historical. From it resulted those exegetical branches which have been already explained biblical Linguistics, Criticism, Archæology, History, Isagogics;

and these collectively, exegesis has to recommend to the expositor, as auxiliary sciences indispensable to him. Between them and exegesis a relationship exists of mutual service. As without their help exegesis cannot accomplish its task, so, on the other hand, exegesis regularly supplies to those branches the material which their further cultivation demands, and which renders them more and more capable of serving exegesis. Especially to laymen, who should read Holy Scripture for their own edification, but who not seldom become conceited, and think to be able to expound Scripture, exegesis will have to make clear what the nature of Scripture exposition really is, and what acquirements are indispensable thereto. The best intention, the most lively religious interest, the most hearty love for Scripture, all this, which is very often quite characteristic of such laymen, cannot by itself alone lead to a satisfactory end any more than the mere theory. Only that exegesis which, along with these preparatory conditions, is at the same time built up upon those other auxiliary sciences, and carried out according to a strictly grammatico-historical method, answers to the requirements of theological science, and serves the final purpose of exegetical theology, the attainment of a knowledge of Christianity in its historical primitiveness.

The scientific character of biblical exegesis is not prejudiced in consequence of that consideration for the Church which has to be recommended to it. The writings, the exposition of which is the duty of the exegete, stand to the present in a relation altogether different from that of the other writings of antiquity. These, too, may have their value for the present, and so, as for example, classical philology, ought to be cultivated; but in general, the significance which they have is still only historical, and their influence upon the life of the present is quite indirect and limited. On the other hand, the biblical writings are of importance to the Church as the source and the rule of its faith, and stand in the most immediate

connection, not only with the Church life, but also with the life of the community as a whole. The individual members of the Church find in these writings the divine revelation upon which they ground their religious convictions. Our family life, our social intercourse, our customs, our civil regulations and laws, rest in great part upon the views and truths which have been transmitted in those writings. The exegete then himself stands within the influences of this life, and finds, in the writings which he expounds, the deepest satisfaction for his own spiritual life. Now, as the servant of science, the exegete has it always laid upon him, as an inviolable duty, to proceed in his exposition of Scripture on strictly historical lines, and consequently he comes to his work inspired with the conviction that, by means of this purely scientific procedure, he performs a great service to the Church itself. And thus, although the results of his work first operate mediately upon the Church life, yet, in consequence of the actual relation of immediate participation in which he himself and the life surrounding him stand to Holy Scripture, he will not be able to withhold the consideration due to it. That which has its origin in the most personal need of the exegete, and which appears as a need of the life, exegesis must not only allow, but must even recommend. Only the question remains, How is the exegete to carry out the recommendation? According to what was said in an earlier page, it is to be understood that it is not permissible that the exegete, from any merely subjective interests, should in any case alter the meaning of Scripture, and perchance, under cover of this altered interpretation of Scripture, secure countenance in the practical life for his own personal views and convictions. Therefore the sense of Scripture already objectively laid down by him will of necessity always be the foundation from which the exegete has to proceed, if he is to enjoy any consideration at the hands of the Church. The religious ideas, which in Holy Scripture are often expressed with great brevity but in a

strikingly pregnant manner, are to be developed by the exegete in accordance with the whole wealth of their contents. Occupying the high point of view of his own age, he will, from the various tendencies and endeavours of the present, glance back upon the content of Scripture, and, where an opportunity presents itself, he will emphasize the practical importance thereof for the life of the present. A great multitude of references is here possible, and it is just in the finding out of these that the *geniality* of the expositor comes into requisition. Much that in Scripture is addressed for some special reason to particular persons, and to particular Churches, at some special time, and under special circumstances, has, in consequence of the nature of that which is said, a thoroughly general character, and admits of a general application to all times, and to the most important relations of life, if only it be rightly understood. In consequence of this, however, the exegete will be obliged to proceed more by way of hints than of authoritative statement, and to find the true measure for possible references always in the objective sense of Scripture, in order that he may not fall into what is merely fanciful, and artificial, and purely arbitrary.

By means of the scientific task of exegesis, the forms in which it has to set down its expositions of Scripture, are conditioned. Hence they also are set forth and gain recognition as historical. Exegesis requires to determine these on the basis of the hermeneutical theory. The forms of exegesis are three: (1) The Commentary, (2) The Paraphrase, and (3) The Translation.

The Commentary is the most complete form of exposition. In it the masterpieces of the exegete are to be found. Whatever artistic skill for exposition, whatever hermeneutical dexterity, whatever linguistic accomplishments and acquaintance with antiquity he possesses, all these he must concentrate in his commentary to the realizing of one common end. All the exegetical branches that have been already discussed must

find their practical application in the commentary. The author whose writing is to be commented upon, and the time at which his work was written, must be determined by means of critical investigation; the author must be described biographically; the period during which he wrote must be historically characterized; and, in accordance with the principle, that the exposition is to be *ex analogia fidei*, and the maxim *scriptura scripturæ interpres*, his writing must be put side by side with related writings and compared with them; the peculiarity of its language, the critical condition of its text, the order of discourse to which it belongs, must be discussed; and then, its entire contents must be set forth in brief outline and clear review. All this belongs to the introduction to the commentary. In the exposition itself the exegete must proceed in a strictly philological method from the particular to the general, in order to fix the significance, sense, and thought of the words, propositions, and verses, and then, the contents of the larger sections. Philological knowledge must for this end be always accompanied by the critical investigation of the text, by archæological and historical acquirements, by the careful use and employment of already existing commentaries and translations, by an artistic-genial tact, and the exegete's own hearty appreciation of the contents. This last characteristic may show itself in the commentary in attaching to suitable passages remarks and considerations upon the content of Scripture arrived at by grammatico-historical processes, by means of which the word of Scripture is brought into immediate relation to the present. The purely scholarly treatment wins by this means practical fruitfulness in reference to actual life. Nevertheless this ought to be for the commentary only a secondary consideration. The chief thing for it is the scientific task of exegesis, the setting forth of the sense of Scripture in its objectivity.

The Paraphrase is the setting forth in an amplified form the sense of Scripture. It has the commentary for its presup-

position. It has not to adopt the philological, critical, and historical apparatus, by the help of which the commentary endeavours to lead to a full understanding of a writing, but it must have all this learned labour behind it, and must build thereon, if it is not to lose itself in what is arbitrary, unfounded, and insipid. The paraphrase has as its task to explain the historical sense of Scripture by means of fuller expansion. It must develop the pregnant contents of particular words; it must make clear the connection of particular propositions, which is often not readily recognised by the reader of Scripture; and it must set forth the thoughts of the more closely connected verses in their express significance, and the succession of ideas throughout the whole section in distinct outline. The paraphrase, too, as well as the commentary, may serve purely scientific ends, but in it, even more than in the commentary, is there an opportunity for bringing the word of Scripture into relation with the present, and pointing out the mutual reaction of Scripture and life upon one another.

The Translation is the most difficult work of the exegete. It is the reproduction of a writing in another language. It therefore presupposes the most exact understanding of the foreign text. The exegete cannot begin a translation until he has undertaken a thorough scientific investigation of the text, as it is laid down in the commentary. On the other hand, the exegete who undertakes to translate must possess the most exact and accurate knowledge of the language into which he translates, in order that he may with delicacy and precision choose in it the expression which most thoroughly corresponds to and harmonizes with that of the foreign language. In the matter of translating itself, in the transfusion of the foreign language into the other, he must guard against allowing the colouring of the foreign language to dominate over that into which he translates, or allowing the colouring of the latter to dominate over the former. If either of these mistakes be made, no good translation can result. The

translator who would give equal rights to the spirit of both languages, must rather blend both in the translation in such equal proportions, that the reader of the translation, as Rosenkranz strikingly says, may at once feel himself abroad and at home. By means of the translation the exegete is also directly contributing to the purely scientific purpose of exegesis, the objective historical understanding of the word of Scripture, but, at the same time, he specially concerns himself therewith in view of the immediate needs of the Church life, seeing that, by means of the translation into a spoken language, he makes spiritual intercourse with Scripture generally possible to a wide circle of the laity. Here we need only to refer to Luther's translation of the Bible, which has contributed less to scientific exegesis than to the religious need of the great community of the Evangelical Church.

The division of exegesis as cursory and detailed does not belong to the province of science, but is only employed in the interests of methodology. The exegete as such must treat every writing in elaborate detail. But, for exegetical beginners, it may be recommended to read Holy Scripture cursorily, that is, without attending to every particular word, and entering into a learned investigation of each particular proposition, in the fullest sense of the term. It may be well that they should read Holy Scripture simply with the help of lexicon and grammar in order to gain acquaintance generally with its language, contents, and spirit. But along with this they must join the detailed examination of one particular book, that is, they must consult the best commentaries, in order, by the study of them, to attain unto a wide and fair understanding of the particular books, and so gradually to reach a scientific exegetical knowledge of Scripture. Especially ought the beginner, whether he read cursorily or in detail, to be counselled not to read thoughtlessly, but to make clear to himself in regard to each chapter, what its fundamental thoughts are, and, in concluding every book, what are its principal contents.

The history of exegesis is of the greatest importance for the exposition of Scripture. The Old Testament was for the Jews, as the Old and New Testaments are for Christians, the subject of uninterrupted scholarly occupation. In numerous commentaries, paraphrases, and translations, they have given expression to their understanding of Scripture. Those exegetical works of early times are an indispensable aid to the exegetes of the present. In regard to the exposition of particular books, upon which he comments, the exegete must consult the already existing commentaries and translations, and in every particular passage he must endeavour to establish the objective sense of Scripture by means of a critical examination of the earlier expositions. In his own commentary, he must enumerate and name the most useful commentaries, and characterize them in accordance with their value. An exegetical treatise, therefore, has to incorporate in itself the history of exegesis. While, then, hermeneutics subjects to its criticism the various methods according to which, in the course of time, the exposition of Holy Scripture has proceeded, in order that, on the basis of this critical review, the method which it adopts as the only proper one may be vindicated, it is the task of the exegetical treatise to indicate historically the application of those methods, and to describe, with reference to those methods, the exegetical works from the earliest down to the latest period, so that their value may be forthwith acknowledged in general, according to the value of the method which they follow. The conclusion, however, must not be made dependent upon this alone, since the faultiest methods do not altogether exclude good results in details.

On the history of exegesis consult the following works:—

J. G. Rosenmüller, Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia christiana. Hildb. et Lips. 1795–1814. 5 voll.

G. W. Meyer, Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wieder-

herstellung der Wissenschaften. Göttingen 1802–1808. 5 Bände. L. Diestel, Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche. Jena 1869. Fr. Bleek, Einleitung in das Alte Testament. 4 Auflage, p. 563 ff.; more fully in the first German edition, p. 98 ff. [English translation from the second German edition: Introduction to the Old Testament. London 1869. 2 vols. Comprehensive History of the Exegesis of the Old Testament, vol. i. pp. 110–170.] Ed. Reuss, Die Geschichte der heiligen Schrift Neuen Testaments. 5 Ausgabe. Braunschweig 1874, p. 421 ff. [§ 501. Fünftes Buch, Geschichte der Exegese. English translation: History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1884, pp. 526–625. C. A. Briggs, Biblical Study, its Principles, Methods, and History. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1884. On Biblical Exegesis, see pp. 27–37. On the history of Exegesis, see chapter on the Interpretation of Scripture, pp. 296–366. On Rabbinical Systems of interpretation:—F. Weber, System der Altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud. Leipzig 1880. Also interesting papers by F. W. Farrar in Expositor for 1877, vol. v. of first series. Especially article Rabbinic Exegesis, p. 362. On Patristic and Reformation Systems of interpretation: — Samuel Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics developed and applied; including a History of Biblical Interpretation from the earliest of the Fathers to the Reformation. Edinburgh 1843. Papers on the value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible, by W. Sanday, in the Expositor, vol. xii., first series. Chrysostom, p. 123 ff.; Jerome, p. 217 ff.; Augustine, p. 304 ff. Papers on the Reformers as exegetes, by Farrar in the Expositor, vol. vii., second series. Erasmus, p. 43 ff.; Luther, p. 214 ff.; Calvin, p. 426 ff.]

§ 31. BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

As hermeneutics and the whole of the branches of study which precede it are, in relation to exegesis, mere auxiliary sciences, exegesis is itself again an auxiliary science in relation to that branch of study designated biblical theology, in which the conclusions of exegetical theology are given. The highest aim of exegetical theology, that is, of the first division of theological science, is the attainment of a historical understanding of primitive Christianity, and this aim is realized in the last subdivision of exegetical theology, in the so-called biblical theology. Inasmuch as this last-named branch has in a pre-eminent degree to form its contents out of Holy Scripture, it must assume the most exact understanding of Scripture, and the acquiring of this is the service which exegesis, with all its auxiliary sciences, has to render. It must certainly be acknowledged that exegesis itself already answers to the highest end of exegetical theology. For if, indeed, it expounds the particular books of the Old and New Testament, it not only leads up regularly to the preparations or foreshadowings of Christianity, as they are given in the Old Testament, but it also already introduces us to the understanding of Christianity. Nevertheless, inasmuch as these exegetical operations only extend to the one particular book of which the exposition happens to treat, and inasmuch as the exposition must take into account the continuous content of the writing to be expounded, much that has no immediate connection with religion must be expounded with equal thoroughness and care. On the contrary, biblical theology has to take up only the essentially religious contents of the Old and New Testaments, and to set forth these contents, not according to their several parts that have been fortuitously

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thrown together, but according to a definite plan and in their inner objective connection. Only in modern times has it been possible, in consequence of the more complete scientific construction of theology, to give definite recognition to this problem of biblical theology. The beginnings of this science already appear in the ancient Church. Then in a more extensive way it was called forth by the needs of the Reformation. In the earlier attempts at a biblical theology in the Reformation period, it occupied a position of absolute dependence upon dogmatics. According to the principle of the Reformation, every dogma must be established by means of biblical proof passages. In consequence of the multitude of passages, and in the interest of their full exposition, theologians were soon obliged to treat them by themselves apart from dogmatics. Thus arose the *theologia topica* which was occupied with the exposition of the τόποι, the *loci classici* or *dicta probantia* of Holy Scripture, for the purpose of furnishing dogmatic proof according to the scheme adopted from dogmatics. From this servile position the so-called topical science gradually emancipated itself, and, on the ground of its historical task, raised itself to the rank of an independent exegetical branch, to which now the name of biblical theology is usually given. The name, however, is not quite appropriate and suitable for this branch. The word "theology" can be here taken, neither in its narrower sense, as the doctrine of God, nor in its wider sense, as theological science. Were one to understand it in the latter sense, biblical theology would then be identical with exegetical theology, and would mean the theological-scientific treatment of the Bible generally. It is in this way that Pelt and Rosenkranz, for example, in their Encyclopædias employ the term biblical theology for exegetical theology. Hence they resolved to give up the use of the name "biblical theology" for that particular branch of exegetical theology, and to employ instead the term "biblical dogmatics." However, even this name does not exactly suit to describe the

character of this branch of study. If we were to retain it, we should scarcely be able to affirm decidedly its historical character from the want of an exact definition of its special task. This is seen very distinctly in Hagenbach's treatment of it in his Encyclopædia. The expression "biblical dogmatics" can only designate, either a department which has to set forth the Christian doctrines on the basis of Holy Scripture, or a department which has to exhibit the doctrines contained in the Bible. In the former sense, this is not descriptive of our department, as is at once evident; but even in the latter sense it is not suitable, for its task is, not to set forth what we call dogmas, but rather the religion contained in the Old and New Testaments, and to represent this in its historical development. Hence the exegetical department, which accomplishes this, is most appropriately designated—The History of Old and New Testament Religion. In this department what theology will reach as its final end is the knowledge of Christianity in its original and primitive form. As, however, Christianity originally made its appearance in history, it mostly coincides with the religion of the race out of which it arose, and apart from the knowledge thereof, Christianity cannot be understood. The immediate presupposition of the Christian religion, the Hebrew religion, must therefore of necessity be admitted into this department, and developed with historical precision. But in order at once to understand the special characteristics of the Hebrew religion, and also rightly to estimate the significance of Christianity in its original form, this department must, besides the Hebrew religion, take also for the subject of its investigation the other pre-Christian religions, and so expand itself into a universal history of religion. It is obliged to take this wide range, not only for the sake of its own special aim, but also on account of a higher theological and churchly reference. Theology, as the science of the Christian religion, has for its highest task to substantiate the presupposition of the Church, that in

the Christian religion we are in possession of the absolute religion, and to show that it is entitled to this name by means of a scientific demonstration. To this end every part of theology ought to contribute; therefore also its first part, exegetical theology. This is what exegetical theology does furnish in the so-called biblical theology, which forms its conclusion. This department, therefore, includes within its range of treatment all the religions preceding the Christian religion, and, from the comprehensive character of its exposition, it makes Christianity appear as the completion of the universal historical development of religion. Not only, as in its earlier endeavours as topical science, does it bring together particular passages of Scripture as means of proving particular doctrines, but it has to show its scientific progress by this, that it produces for this purpose the general history of religion as the *dictum classicum* and *probans*, that religion is a historical reality in the life of the nations, and that, among these historical realities, Christianity occupies the highest place. The proof which it thereby furnishes for the reality of religion in general, and for the truth of the Christian religion, is first of all indeed a merely historical proof, which, as such, has only a relative significance. Its value is not sufficiently high to take effect against such objections as are directed against religion, against Christianity and the Church by a depreciating view of history in consequence of any subjective conceptions. The historically presented realities point back to one reality in the human spirit itself, which cannot be destroyed either by individual antipathies or by philosophical theory.

In accordance with this conception of it, biblical theology is found in the closest connection with the philosophical history of religion, without, however, becoming identified therewith, as has been indeed insisted upon on the philosophical side. Theology will be obliged to allow to philosophy the right of treating, not only the Old Testament, as Noack, in his Encyclopædia, p. 272, demands, but also the New Testament,

as only of equal value with all other sacred writings. Philosophy occupies a position superior to history. With it there cannot be any separate style of exegesis for any one portion of the sacred writings, as claiming to be specially privileged. All these sacred writings have for it the same dignity, and must all alike yield to the same kind of critical investigation. The material for the history of religion thus gained has for philosophy no generally normative significance, but submits itself again to philosophical criticism, which has to examine whether the philosophical idea of religion has found its real expression in any one of the historical religions. Now to assume that theology must take the same course is a requirement quite incompatible with the positive character which it bears in itself by reason of its connection with the Church. As the Church finds the idea of religion in the Christianity testified to in the Old and New Testaments, and ascribes to both Testaments a normative significance, theology attaches itself to this conception of the Church, and must acknowledge in these two Testaments a higher dignity than in, for example, the sacred writings of the Chinese, the Indians, the Parsees. By means of the dignity given by the Church to these two Testaments, theology is obliged to devote to them a special exegetical activity which, with all its auxiliary appliances, pursues the one end of showing that Christianity, in connection with the Old Testament religion, is the idea of religion which the Church acknowledges, and for the truth of which theology has to furnish the demonstration. By reason, however, of this positive attitude which belongs to exegetical theology, it is in no way hindered from entering into the freest relationship with the philosophical history of religion. For its own comprehensive history of the religions, it not only adopts without exception all the historically established results, which the philosophical history of religion brings to light in regard to the extra-biblical religions, but also, in the special department to which it limits itself, the ascertainment

of the Old and New Testament religion, it complies with the same laws of historical criticism which the philosophical history of religion lays down as the foundation of its general investigation. Inasmuch, then, as its biblical theology is expanded into a general history of religion, and adopts into itself, besides the Hebraic, also other non-Christian religions, it furnishes the proof that it passes beyond the limits of the historically unfree orthodox theology. Of the so-called heathen religions, this theology generally can know nothing. They appear to it mere illusions of the human spirit, a falling away from the truth, which has been brought about by the universal sinfulness of the human race. Only in the Old and New Testaments is the divine revelation contained. The heathen religions cannot be brought into any connection with this revelation, but can only be held forth as warnings and pictures of horror before the confessors of revealed religion. This view of the history of religion rests upon the mechanical notion of revelation, which the orthodox theology maintains, but this has been abandoned as untenable, not only by philosophy, but also by scientific theology. By both of these not only the Old and New Testament religions, but all religions, are recognised as revealed. Religion in general, according to its historical idea, is a relation of man to God. In the various historical religions this presents itself in the most diverse ways. Taken collectively they constitute the great process of the history of religion which, not arbitrarily, but in accordance with an inner spiritual necessity, runs its course, as a development of religion from its rudest elements up to its perfect ideal. In this development, the idea itself is the infinite motive power which, by its inherent force, bears on the human consciousness to ever higher stages of the religious life, until, finally, idea and actual phenomenon agree, and the absolute relationship to God has become historical. The whole course of the development, however, is conditioned by means of an absolute act of God. If God had not originally

revealed Himself in the spirit of man, then human history would have been without a religion. Religion as such rests upon an original primitive revelation of God, and in its development there is the co-operation of two activities, the divine operation and the human. The Absolute is in Himself unchangeably one and the same, but, for the human consciousness, there is a gradual process which only by degrees, through various stages, rises to the absolute idea of God, and to a life corresponding to this idea. From this standpoint the pre-Christian religions collectively, in so far as they are historical stages in reference to Christianity, appear, as Noack says in his Encyclopædia, like a great Old Testament of universal history, and in this sense biblical theology is to be conceived as the history of the religion of the Old and New Testaments. The orthodox theology, which in its narrowness of vision rejects a universal history of religion, brings upon theology the loss of the most striking testimony to the power of religion and the supreme worth of Christianity. But besides this, the course of the orthodox theology keeps aloof from the special treatment of Old and New Testament religion. Inasmuch as it conceives of the religions of both Testaments as the one and only divine revelation, it is obliged, in an unhistorical way, to deny the distinction that subsists between the two, and with special delight to recognise New Testament elements already in the Old. In opposition to this, biblical theology has also here to make application of historical criticism, and, inasmuch as it brings the two Testaments into the relation of historical sequence with one another, it has to undertake the task of exhibiting with critical precision, at once the essential unity which subsists between the two, and the historical differences by which they are distinguished.

From what has been said there follows the scientific distribution of the theological history of religion. After an Introduction in which its name is to be justified by reference

to its history, its place in the theological system, its significance for theology, and its relations to the philosophical history of religion are to be discussed, it sets forth its subject in three divisions: (1) The Heathen Religions; (2) The Hebrew Religion; and (3) The Christian Religion.

§ 32. THE THREE DIVISIONS OF THE THEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF RELIGION.

FIRST DIVISION—THE HEATHEN RELIGIONS.—It is only in recent times, after the bonds of the old theology had been broken, that any special attention has been paid to the general history of religion. The exegete now finds ready to his hand a rich literature for use in the first division of the history of religion. C. Meiners, Kritische Geschichte der Religionen. 2 Bde. Hannover 1806. Görres, Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt. 2 Bde. Heidelberg 1810. Fr. Creuzer, Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker, besonders der Griechen. Bd. 1–6. Darmstadt 1819–1823. F. Chr. Baur, Symbolik und Mythologie oder die Naturreligion des Alterthums. 2 Bde. Stuttgart 1824. P. F. Stuhr, Allgemeine Geschichte der Religionsformen der heidnischen Völker. Th. 1, 2. Berlin 1836–1838. Hegel's Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion. Bd. 1, 2. (Werke, Bd. xi., xii. Berlin 1832.) J. A. Hartung, Die Religion der Römer nach den Quellen dargestellt. Th. 1, 2. Erlangen 1836. Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen. Th. 1–3. Leipzig 1865–1866. C. Rosenkranz, Die Naturreligion. Iserlohn 1831. L. Noack, Mythologie und Offenbarung. Th. 1, 2. Darmstadt 1846. A. Wuttke, Geschichte des Heidenthums in Beziehung auf Religion, Wissen, Kunst, Sittlichkeit und Staatsleben. Th. 1, 2. Breslau 1852–1853. Castrèn, Vorlesungen über Finnische Mythologie. Aus dem Schwedischen von A. Schiefner. Petersburg 1853. L. Preller, Griechische Mythologie. Bd. 1, 2. Leipzig 1854. Römische Mythologie. Berlin 1858. J. G. Welcker, Griechische Götterlehre. Bd. 1–3. Göttingen 1857-1863. Joh. Scherr, Geschichte der Religion. 3 Bde.

Leipzig 1855–1857. 2 Auflage 1860. Bunsen, Gott in der Geschichte. Th. 1–3. Leipzig 1857–1858. [English translation: God in History, or the Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World. With Preface by Dean Stanley. London. 3 vols.] L. Krehl, Die Religion der vorislamischen Araber. Leipzig 1863. Chr. Petersen, Griechische Mythologie. (Ersch und Gruber'sche Encyclopædie. Bd. 82. 1864.) E. Zeller, Religion und Philosophie bei den Römern. Berlin 1866. Schelling, Philosophie der Mythologie. (Werke, ii. 2.) O. Pfleiderer, Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1869. F. Schultze, Der Fetischismus. Leipzig 1871. R. Seydel, Die Religion und die Religionen. Leipzig 1872. M. Müller, Essays. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft. Aus dem Englischen in's Deutsche übertragen. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1869. [Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, being a series of Essays on the Science of Religion, Mythologies, Traditions, and Customs. 4 vols. London 1880.] M. Müller, Einleitung in die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft. Strassburg 1874. [Max Müller, Introduction to the Science of Religion. London 1873. Also, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated in the Religions of India. Hibbert Lecture. London 1878. F. D. Maurice, The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity. J. Gardner, Faiths of the World. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1858–1860. J. J. Ign. Döllinger, The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ. 2 vols. London 1862. Sir George W. Cox, Mythology of the Aryan Nations. 2 vols. London 1870. E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture: the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Customs. London 1873. 2 vols. Also, Early History of Mankind. 2nd edition. London 1870. C. Hardwick, Christ and Other Masters: a Historical Inquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World. 3 parts. Cam-

bridge 1855–1858. Ed. de Pressensé, The Religions before Christ. Edinburgh 1862. Compare also the Hibbert Lectures by Renouf, Kuenen, Renan, Rhys Davids, Réville,—all on questions relating to Comparative Religion.]

If the so-called heathen religions be here treated separately from the Hebrew and Christian religions, this is not done from the motive previously attributed to the older theology, as though the heathen religions were related to the revealed biblical religions as merely natural, and therefore false religions. The heathenish, as well as the biblical, are revealed religions; and the biblical religions, as well as the heathenish, are historical. The two, therefore, are not placed over against one another as true and false, but their mutual relations are historically estimated. Even to the lowest stages of heathen religion there belongs a relative truth, inasmuch as they give expression generally to religion, and raise the races which profess them into the general community of mankind, just as the lowest attempts at art, which the history of art discloses, have a universally human value as historical evidence of an artistic sense. Hence, if a distinction is to be drawn between one and another of the historical religions, not excluding that between the heathenish and biblical religions, it must be done without reference to revelation which is common to all. A characteristic attribute, which history acknowledges as such, must be sought out, by means of which such a distinction may be justified. One may certainly consider the religions collectively as one whole, and arrange in special groups the particular religions according to a certain affinity in which they stand to one another. In this way Max Müller proceeds, for he, in accordance with the results of the comparative science of language, takes linguistic affinity as the principle for the classification of religions. The three classes of languages which the comparative science of language has hitherto admitted,—the Turanian, the Semitic, and the Aryan,

form the basis also of three classes of religions, which can be interchanged with one another just as little as the languages themselves. So thinks Max Müller. The great importance of the comparative science of language for the history of religion is now admittted on all hands. Wherever there is language there is also religion, and in the word the religious consciousness creates for itself its immediate expression. In order to become acquainted with religious views, it is necessary to understand the words in their original significance. Races with allied languages, that express their religious consciousness by the same words, are also allied in respect of their religion; while peoples of different tongues are, so to speak, uttering a different religion. Affinity and diversity of languages are conditions of a similar relationship in respect of religions. Hence the treatment of the historical religions with regard to those three classes of languages is not without a good foundation, and will contribute toward giving to the history of religion the linguistic explanations that are to be desiderated. Nevertheless the division of religions in accordance with that classification of languages does not recommend itself in the history of religion. Apart from the fact that the hitherto accepted classification of the languages applies only to the Asiatico-European, and that consequently the African and American religions do not get a place in the schedule of the science of language, there is this general objection, that language as such is not fitted to afford an explanation of the religion which speaks in it. The classification of languages is based upon their peculiar forms: according as these are diverse, similar, or allied, the languages are grouped into separate families of speech. Now, in reference to religion this form of the language is of no importance. It scarcely can be proved that it has had any, not to say a thoroughgoing, influence upon the essential nature of a religion. On the other hand, it is not difficult to show that religion has had a certain influence upon language. Therefore it is not the form

of the language that is of value for the history of religion, but only the word in which the religious spirit has expressed itself, for the interpretation of which the history of religion claims the aid of the comparative science of language as indispensable, though not all-sufficient. The proof furnished by linguistic investigation from the use of the one name for God among all the Aryan nations, that there was peculiar to all these races, and for the same reason also to the Semitic and to the Turanian races before their dispersion, a common consciousness of God, by means of which they are distinguished from one another, and that after their dispersion the several national stems into which they were divided were bound together by means of their religious affinity, is in the highest degree instructive. Nevertheless this religious affinity and diversity can be determined upon linguistic lines only in a general way, but not as to its characteristic properties. Originally each one of those three great groups of races may have had the same consciousness of God, but as they fall apart into separate nationalities, and the originally common language becomes separate although still allied languages, a difference must also make its appearance in the originally common form of religion, and, even if the old names be retained, into these other notions will be introduced. Linguistically, *Dyaus-pitar*, *Ζεὺς-πατήρ*, *Ju-piter*, may have the same signification; but then the question arises, whether the Indians, the Greeks, and the Romans associated the same idea with the word. The Chinese *Tien* may make its appearance also in Mongolian, but has it in the one case the same religious meaning as in the other? In order to ascertain the proper character of a religion, we must take into consideration, not only the language, but the whole conditions of life which are associated with it, and the historical relations under which it has arisen and operated. We must treat religion not only in the light of the science of language, but also in the light of the history of worship and of culture. Hence, although the history of

religion has to regard the comparative science of language as one of its most important auxiliary sciences, it will not be able to derive the distribution of the religions from the classification of the languages, because the peculiarity of linguistic forms is, in reference to the religions, a matter of indifference, and also because the investigation of language is not alone sufficient for the understanding of the religions. The principle for the distribution, distinguishing, and co-ordinating of the historical religions must rather be derived from the nature of religion itself. Among the rudest as well as among the most highly cultured races, the historian of religion finds traces of that which is called religion, faith in a superior, superhuman power, the consciousness of dependence upon this power, the longing after deliverance from the bonds of sin and finitude. The history of all races gives expression to these same fundamental elements. They blend together in a rich harmony, the tones of which, wherever and whenever they are audible, awaken sympathy in every human heart. But, at the same time, the most diverse variations and modulations enter into this harmony, and it is the business of the historian to represent this diversity in all its manifoldness. It is exactly this that is of greatest importance in order to secure immunity from dangerous errors in regard to religion. When Max Müller, in his *Introduction to the Study of Religion*, insists that, in order to an understanding of the religious language of the ancients, we should make the assumption that the ancients ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις were precisely like ourselves, this can only be admitted in reference to a common religious feeling. If this may be generally made applicable to the old Aryan prayer, "Heavenly Father," and the Christian prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven," there is still a difference between the two prayers wide as heaven itself, and it is pre-eminently the duty of the history of religion to combat the notion that one religion is as good as another.

Now the centre around which the religious life of a people

revolves, is the notion of God that is proper to it. In accordance with this notion are formed its peculiar views of the relations in which God stands to man, and of the attitude which man occupies in reference to God. The diversity in the conception of God entertained among the different races of mankind, determines the diversity of their religions. Hence only the notion of God is fit to be a norm for the distribution of these in a history of religion. From this point of view the heathen religions are to be distinguished from the Hebrew and Christian religions, inasmuch as the two last named have a notion of God diverse from that of the heathen religions, whereas the heathen religions are in this respect generally agreed. Of these collectively it is characteristic that they regard nature as the bearer of the divine, that to the things of nature they assign the attributes of divinity, and by this means drag the divine within the region of the finite, and bind upon themselves the bonds of finiteness. They appear, therefore, as religions of immanence, in contrast to the biblical religions, as religions of transcendence. Hence, also, the proposal recommends itself in the history of religion, altogether to discontinue the non-significant name, "Heathen Religions," and in place thereof to adopt, as has been already done by many, the significant name, "Religions of Nature." Notwithstanding this specified affinity, whereby they are bound together, they at the same time show quite characteristic features, by means of which they are distinguished from one another. In order to indicate their diversity, some have divided them into dualistic, polytheistic, and pantheistic. The distinctions, however, which are implied in these terms, are too indefinite and pliable to be suitable for the distribution of the history of religion. Some characterize the Indian form of religion as pantheistic, the Greek as polytheistic; but with equal right the former might be called polytheistic, and the latter pantheistic. Instead of this merely numerical principle a qualitative principle of distribution must be adopted, and that same point

of view, according to which the biblical religions have been distinguished from the heathen religions, must be maintained.

If generally the same notion of the divine is common to the religions of nature, they are nevertheless distinguished in respect of the different form and manner in which they make nature the bearer of the divine. The peculiarity of the notion of God is conditioned by means of the peculiar notion of nature. This last is always dependent upon the natural surroundings amid which the people lives, its geographical and climatic conditions, its intellectual, social, and political training. The religions of nature are therefore all of them national religions, and can be understood only in connection with the position in respect of culture of the races among which they prevail. Even Hebraism has its share in this particularism, and has therefore still a connection with the religions of nature, but, at the same time, by reason of its idea of God, it rises superior to itself. What the exegete in his restricted domain has to do, the historian of religion will have to do in all the separate domains of religion, so far as the means are available. This is a serious task, which can only be accomplished by a division of labour. Consequently, if the religions of nature are arranged according to their notion of the divine, it will likewise be serviceable for the purposes of the history of religion to rank together in groups those races whose affinity has already been proved by means of the science of language. The allied religious notions of a particular circle will serve to bring out more distinctly the difference by means of the comparison.

The origin of religion cannot be historically ascertained any more than the origin of language. It is the business of the history of religion to arrange the historically acknowledged religions according to their inner contents, and to point out in them the gradual stages of elevation from the lowest notions of God up to the highest. But even among these it is scarcely possible to determine that which was historically the first, the original religion, in which first the morning rays of the infinite

broke in upon human consciousness. Quite different beginnings may have been made contemporaneously by different races. To establish a priority would be of value only if a reciprocal action were recognised. Seeing that this is scarcely capable of being established, the history of religion can only deal with what is given historically, and seek by means of comparison to determine the inner relationship of the historical religions to one another. A manifoldness of religious conceptions that is scarcely realizable, presents itself in the domain of the religions of nature. In the Fetishism of the so-called savages of the old and new worlds, and in the Shamanism of certain Turanian tribes, the lowest stage is found, inasmuch as the glimmering conception of higher powers associates itself, in a purely arbitrary way, with particular natural objects, and priestly magic is regarded as the means whereby the favour of the gods is won and their displeasure is averted. Among the Turanians, the Chinese have risen to a general notion of heaven, and in it worship the divine power which by its laws determines and maintains the order of nature and of human life. The Semitic nations, the Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, Phœnicians, Arabians, and also originally the Egyptians as well, saw in the stars of heaven the divine, which in creating and destroying, ruled over nature and man. The Aryan nations, the Indians, Persians, Celts, Germans, Slavs, Greeks, regard the powers which rule in the finite world as the all-powerful gods, whether it be that, as in the case of the Indian religion, the consciousness rises to the representation of one principle of nature, which out of its own fulness calls into being every separate creaturely existence, and is personified in a power for creating, preserving, and destroying, or that, as in Parseeism, the divine is conceived of as a contrast of nature between light and darkness, or that, as in the Old German and in the Græco-Italian religion, the endless multitude of powers which manifest themselves in the life of nature and in the life of the individual man, in social and

political life, is deified in the form of the human personality. In the higher stages of the religion of nature the imagination has created an innumerable crowd of mythological divine forms, until in the Græco-Roman the ideal human was raised to the throne, and the gods were regarded as ideal human personalities. In this way the most distinct varieties of religion must arrive at worship. The worship, however, of the religion of nature, even in its highest stages, is essentially nothing more than a deifying of nature and self, and does not raise man above nature and above himself. The longing implanted in the human spirit after elevation and emancipation from the bonds of finitude, and after reconciliation and fellowship with the divine, could not be satisfied in the religion of nature in spite of all the expiations, sin-offerings, and sacrifices which it demanded. It was just in the Græco-Roman world, where the religion of nature had attained unto its highest refinement, that it experienced its decline, inasmuch as the same national cast of mind, so soon as it had developed into more mature understanding, destroyed that world of the gods which in its youth it had created. The Greek philosophy only executed the sentence upon the popular belief which must have fallen upon it because of its inner negativity. In the myth it acknowledged a mere allegory, which, by means of its historical, physical, and metaphysical interpretation, it reduced to its own proper content. The mythical circle of the gods, to which the people looked up as to the Supreme, is a poetic apotheosis of merely finite thoughts. The ideal truth, which forms the basis of the myths, is alone to be retained. The gods, who appear as the vehicle of this truth, have no objective reality, are unsubstantial forms, which the imagination of the race has created, and their worship is a delusion, from which the intelligent turn away with contempt, yea, with mockery and scorn. Philosophy now struck out its own path, and endeavoured, by means of the power of thought with which it had laid bare the falseness of the popular religion, to rise above

the sphere of the finite into the realm of the infinite. To the people, however, from whom it had taken away their gods, philosophy could make no reparation. If the gods, on whom they had hitherto believed, are no gods, then they would just rid themselves of any belief in them; but the philosophical idea was too high to be grasped by the people and to become a real power in their lives.

The Greek philosophy exercised the same annihilating influence upon the Roman religion. While the liberties of Greece had been destroyed by Roman domination, the Greek spirit gained dominion over Roman life. As the Greek worship had been blended together with the Roman, the Greek culture, which had destroyed its own people's faith, so soon as it passed over to the Romans, led also to the destruction of Roman worship. The empire of the Cæsars, one of the greatest creations of human might, sought indeed its support in the higher divine powers, and while, in conquered lands, extending a liberal toleration to foreign modes of worship, it raised the old national religion to the rank of a legalized state religion. But the law could not change the spirit of the people, which had already turned away from it, and the contention of philosophy received confirmation in the apotheosis of the civil power, when the person of the emperor was deified as the representative of an imperial might omnipresent and reaching over all. While those occupying the highest ranks in society found a spiritual holding ground in their philosophical culture, or drowned in forgetfulness their despairing abandonment of the divine and their unbelief by rushing into the enjoyments of a dissolute life, others, who were excluded from a share in government, culture, and enjoyment, and had been in their hearts cut adrift from the worship of the gods of their fathers, sank down into the grossest superstition. As the philosophers had thought to find the truth in Eclecticism, those untutored ones endeavoured to satisfy the unsatisfied craving after the divine in

the conglomeration of a multitude of foreign religious rites, which indeed attracted only by the charm of strangeness, but at most offered nothing higher, often something lower, than their own cast-off and effete religion.[1]

What were thus carried out in the Græco-Roman Empire immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era, has a more general significance far beyond these limits. By reason of the conflict in which the national religion was here involved with the national philosophy, it was shown historically that the religions of nature generally, in spite of the fundamental religious elements which belong to them, bear about within them the seeds of death, and in the struggle with philosophical criticism are not able to maintain their ground. For that which in its fall was brought to light in regard to the Græco-Roman religion, is the universal untruth of all religions of nature, that they, banished into the sphere of nature, take the finite for the infinite.

SECOND DIVISION.—The Hebrew religion, by reason of its thoroughly national character, still occupies a place alongside of the religions of nature, but over against these it secures to itself a higher and independent position. Writers on the philosophy of religion have had trouble in co-ordinating it in the ranks of the historical religions. Hegel does not reckon the Greek and Hebrew religions among the religions of nature, but assigns to them a separate and a higher place; whereas Noack regards them as only religions of nature, and considers the Hebrew, as compared with the Greek, a lower stage.[2] However, as it can scarcely be matter of doubt that the Greek religion belongs to the religions of nature, so it may be granted that the Hebrew religion has its place above these, and therefore, also, above the Greek religion. The very commandment of Ex. xx. 4, not to make or to worship any

[1] Compare Holtzmann, Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Bd. 2, p. 273. E. Renan, Les Apôtres. Paris 1866, p. 304 ff.

[2] Noack, Encyclopædie, p. 335 ff.

image or likeness of that which is in heaven above, or below upon the earth, or in the water under the earth, indicates a consciousness of God which rises far above the sphere of the religion of nature, and attains unto an absolutely transcendent conception of God. The difference between the divine on the one hand, and the natural and human on the other hand, is here clearly recognised, and the worship of the many gods of nature is exchanged for the worship of the one purely extra-mundane God. The Hebrew religion, however, does not appear as from the beginning, in respect of its contents, determined and finally and fully settled by means of a divine revelation; but it is rather seen advancing through various stages of development on to the time of its dissolution. The exposition of it must, therefore, follow the historical course, and must take into consideration the periods in which characteristic modifications of the religious consciousness are to be recognised. In recent times, after the example of de Wette, it has been customary to distinguish two periods:—the period of Hebraism, down to the end of the exile, and the post-exilian period of Judaism. This division, however, is quite too general, inasmuch as in the period of Hebraism an important difference of culture makes its appearance. Others propose to divide into Patriarchal, Mosaic, Prophetical, and Post-exilian periods.[1] But even this does not correspond to the historical reality. Prophecy is not to be limited to any one period, and during the very period in which the prophetic activity was especially influential in securing the further development of the religious consciousness, poetry and didactic writings were also operating along with it. Since also the religious development generally stood in the closest connection with the political and intellectual development of the race, the division of the history of the religion of the Old Testa-

[1] Compare Pelt, Encyclopædie, p. 224 ff. [F. W. Schultz in Zöckler's Handbuch:—1. Pre-prophetic; 2. Prophetic; and 3. Post-prophetic periods. Oehler:—1. Mosaism; 2. Prophetism; and 3. The Chokma or Wisdom.]

ment must attach itself to the division of the Hebrew history and literature. When we adopt this method, we get three periods: *the first,* extending from the earliest times down to the time of the kings,—the Period of the Founding: *the second,* from the time of the kings down to the end of the exile,—the Period of Advancement: and *the third,* from the end of the exile down to the Christian era,—the Period of Decay.[1]

First Period.—The beginnings of the Hebrew religion, like the beginnings of language, lie in historical obscurity. The sources, which are at our command, make it impossible to determine historically the religion of the patriarchs, and that of the antediluvian times, as was attempted by the old theologians. This much only may be determined from the legendary account of Genesis, that the religious consciousness of the Abrahamic family points back to an original connection with the old Semitic religion of nature, but that already in Abraham's family the many heavenly bodies, which were worshipped in the Semites' religion of the stars, were recognised and personified as the one heavenly power and divinity (*Elohim*), and worshipped as the *El Eljon* and *El Schaddai* (Gen. xiv. 18 ff.; Ex. vi. 3). As to how this transition was accomplished we have nothing on record. The fact remains, though the historical explanation is wanting. A step in advance, of supreme importance in the history of religion, was here made, which, whether it was accomplished now in the experience of one or in that of many, is to be referred to the divine efficiency present in all religions, to an inner act of revelation, by means of which the yearning after the divine was raised to a higher stage of the consciousness of God.[2] The same is to be said of the work of Moses.

[1] In this threefold distribution we are in agreement with Hermann Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie, Bd. 1, 2, Frankfurt a. M. 1869, Bd. 1, p. 73 ff., only that he assigns somewhat different limits to his periods.

[2] Compare on the Pre-Mosaic Period, Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie, Bd. 1, p. 95 ff.

Undoubtedly Moses found among his contemporaries the beginnings of a peculiar religious consciousness, and under the sanction thereof, a special form of morality. As the same tribal origin, the same language and religion, are generally the strongest connecting links of nationality, one is entitled to assume that the Israelites also in Egypt were distinguished from the foreign people by means of their monotheistic consciousness of God, and were thus held together as members of a common stock. This national religious basis is a presupposition of the activity of Moses. Not as the founder of a religion, but as a reformer and prophet, did he make his appearance among his people. At the same time, he was more than a prophet, inasmuch as he, by means of the creative act of the divine spirit dwelling within him, and by means of that legislative wisdom with which he was endowed, laid down as legislator the ground upon which the Israelites became a religiously united national community. According to Moses, the one God is the spiritual personal God, who has absolute power over nature as well as over man, whose lordship indeed stretches over all peoples, who has, however, out of free love chosen the Hebrew race to be His own, and has raised them to be the people who shall receive His direct revelation. Elohim is Jehovah, the God of His own people, and the plan, which by means of this race He should carry out, was made known to Moses, inasmuch as to him Jehovah revealed His will as the law, under which the Hebrew race through all time was to be bound. The relationship between Jehovah and His people is a covenant relationship. Jehovah, as absolute Lord and Governor, has through Moses promulgated His will as law, and the people are bound to yield obedience to the law. Only through obedience to the law does the nation win and maintain its independence both of other nations and of nature. When they become disobedient to the law, they fall under the wrath and punishment of God.

This covenant relationship is theocracy. Jehovah is King

of the people; they are the servants of Jehovah. Jehovah is Lawgiver; the people are subjects bound to render obedience, who according to their conduct preserve or forfeit their divine privileges. The religious sentiment of the people is the fear of God, as a reverential fear in presence of the Almighty and All-merciful, and as a holy dread in presence of the angry and avenging God. Out of this arises the conception of righteousness, the צְדָקָה, conduct corresponding to the divine will. As Jehovah over against nature is the absolutely holy, so His people also, and every individual among them, are holy. Distinguished by means of the covenant sign of circumcision from other nations, by means of the ceremonial law from nature, the people are secured against contamination through any element foreign or natural. As in the religions of nature, reverence for God expressed itself in sacrifice, the rendering of which secured the favour of Jehovah and expiation for the sins of the nation and of individuals.

By means of the activity of Moses as a reformer, the nation of Israel was raised to an ideal height which has no analogue in ancient history. But not only in the Hebrew national life, but also generally, in the life of the world, there was now implanted an ideal divine aim. The religious ethical commonwealth, into which Moses brought his people, carried in itself according to its fundamental elements the destination of becoming a kingdom of God for all nations. It cannot be wondered at, that in the covenant conception of Moses there should still be present elements of the old Semitic religion. Just as little can it seem strange, that in the immediately post-Mosaic period, during the times of the Judges, the theocratic life was for the most part regarded as simply an abstract demand, and that the people wanting any established and central authority, did not so easily avoid the sensuous life of nature, or the forms of nature-worship prevailing among neighbouring nations with whom they had a tribal affinity. Nevertheless, the fundamental

thoughts of Mosaism still continued to be, even in the wild and unsettled times of the Judges, a living power among the people, and especially the priests at the national sanctuary in Shiloh seem, in the spirit of Moses, to have further developed the worship of Jehovah, and to have carried on to fuller perfection the leading characteristics of the theocratic law laid down by Moses.[1]

Second Period.—By means of the establishment of the kingly authority and the building of the temple at Jerusalem, the people became a civilly and religiously united national community. What Moses had conferred upon them, now penetrated more generally and more deeply the national consciousness. The highest national civilisation was inspired and charged with the spirit of the worship of Jehovah, and as it had originated within the realm of the community, so it must also in its utterances react continually in the spiritualization and theocratic elevation of the life of the whole community. With the kings and priests are associated the poets, prophets, and wise men of the nation. While the former have the preservation and administration of the worship of Jehovah officially under their care, the others in a perfectly free manner insist upon the enduring character of the divine covenant and the purpose of the divine state. Lyric poetry, as it appears in the Psalms, is the most direct expression of the individual life determined by Jehovism, and the purest source from which a knowledge of religious national consciousness may be derived. The sublimity of the Hebrew lyric lies in the contrast, which here is brought out in all its severity, between the divine and the human. Over against the Almighty and All-holy God stands man in his weakness and sin. The law sets God at once near and far from man.

[1] On the work of Moses, compare Hermann Schultz, Alttest. Theologie, Bd. 1, p. 123, and H. Ewald, Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott, oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes. 4 Bde. Leipzig 1871–1876. Bd. 1, p. 103 ff. [English translation of first volume: Revelation, its Nature and Record. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1884, p. 106 ff.]

Should one glory before God in the righteousness of the law, then the manifold sufferings of his own condition remind him again and again of the divine revenging wrath, and fill him with the consciousness of sin and guilt, so that he can have recourse only to the mercy and the grace of God. As it is in this that the saint under the law places his fullest trust for himself and for the community in which he lives, the same legalistic consciousness leads him to beseech God to take vengeance upon His enemies and the enemies of the saints, and according to His righteousness to destroy by His judgments the wicked, the godless, and the evil-doers. But in His grace God must not linger, and must not leave penitent sinners to die in misery. Over against the earthly life there is the comfortless shadow-life in Sheol in the lower world. Only upon earth can God dispense happiness, and He can be praised only by the living. It is the characteristic attribute of God to show mercy to the unhappy. The souls in Sheol can no longer praise Him. In a thoroughly original way the Hebrew piety has expressed itself in the Psalms, as individual experience, with all the varied affections and emotions, which religious feeling has to pass through, from the profoundest sorrow before God to the highest rejoicing exultation in God; but the ground-tone, which sounds through all, is humility before God and unconditional confidence in the divine guidance.

While the poet turns in upon his own inner life and becomes subject to the fitful frames of his own religious feeling, the prophet directs his gaze outward to the national life of his age, and confronts it with the sure consciousness of the fellowship in which he stands with God. Prophecy is the most perfect form of the life of Hebraism, the most complete realization of the theocratic religious spirit. The spirit of God, which inspires the prophet, is the power to which his human understanding and will are subordinated, and the law is for him the covenant expression of the divine will, which

by means of his people is to be realized. As the messengers of God to His people, the prophets are called to serve the highest national idea, the idea of God's sovereignty. Their utterance is always an act of inspiration, in which they declare to their nation the very word of God, and immediately in the spirit show what, among the most complicated relations of the present, is theocratically right, and for the future theocratically necessary. Regardless of its severity, they apply to the life of the people as a whole the standard of the law, and judge according to this standard, both the present and the future of the divine state. They borrow from the law the fundamental idea which characterizes the covenant relationship, the idea of retribution. According to the attitude of the people to the divine will, the attitude of Jehovah toward the people is determined. All the sufferings and misfortunes which come upon the nation, and all the dangers which are experienced, are called forth by departures from Jehovah and disobedience to His commands. The covenant is dissolved. Jehovah is not bound to be faithful to a faithless people, but to punish. Hence by all the prophets the exhortation is addressed to the people that they put away from them everything untheocratic, and in repentance and mourning return unto Jehovah, that they maintain obedience and unbroken allegiance to His will, unfaltering confidence in His help and in His promises, and, even amid the greatest sufferings, a joyful hope in Jehovah. The blessing of the kingdom will not then be lost, for the love of Jehovah is unchanging toward His chosen people, and the faithfulness of His promises endures for ever. But as no period answers to the demands of the law, so no period answers to the exhortations of the prophets. Hence the prophets, who in the spirit of God have the guarantee of fulfilment, rise above the sin which has laid hold upon all ranks of the people, and above the mischiefs produced thereby, and the breaches made upon the kingdom, by an onward look into the future. The completion of the kingdom

can only be shared in by the ideal people of God. So, what poets only uttered as a wish in prayer, the prophets by the order of God Himself proclaim quite objectively as a reality of the approaching future,—a universal judgment, a great day of account, in which Jehovah will destroy all apostates and sinners from among His people. The rest of the faithful worshippers of Jehovah, who remain after the completed purging and purification, form the basis of the theocratic kingdom of the future. A time of glorification then begins, in which all the divine promises are fulfilled. The kingdom of the future will be made by Jehovah to overflow with all earthly blessings. After the pattern of the great king of ancient times, after the pattern of David, the government will be upon one anointed above all, upon a Messiah sprung from the stock of David, who is endowed with the spirit of Jehovah and with all theocratic virtues. The members of this kingdom will be participators in the spirit of Jehovah, and in love to Jehovah will keep His commandments. They will live in peace with nature and with man. The power of death will be restricted, yea, will be destroyed. The just shall live by their faith. The strange nations, too, of whom Jehovah from time to time made use as a scourge upon His sinful people, will be then joined to the theocratic kingdom, and together with its members will worship Jehovah at Jerusalem. This is essentially the contents of all prophetic preaching: a loud warning to all untheocratically-minded among the people, and rich divine comfort unto all who are faithful to Jehovah. The most important creation of the prophetic spirit is the Messianic hope. Everything great, which is of enduring worth for mankind, occurs in history by means of individual personalities ordained and called of God. The prophetic declaration, that by means of a great theocratic personality the religious life of mankind should be brought to perfection, proceeded from a notion deeply religious and historically true. The promise, too, has at the same time a thoroughly universal

character. All nations will be united with Israel in a common worship of Jehovah in the glorified Jerusalem. The religious ethical perfection was, undoubtedly, always associated by the prophets with the outward condition of the ideal theocratic state; but if, indeed, not broken down, the boundaries of the national particularism were, with that promise, at least broken through.

The wise men of the Hebrews do not, like the prophets, consider the people of a particular period, but the people as such according to their covenant relationship with God. In common with the poets and prophets, they have a firm faith in the revelation given in the law. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, that is, it is the starting-point, and it is also the basis upon which wisdom rests. (Prov. i. 7, ix. 10.) In the wise man, however, along with faith there is joined the reflective understanding, which makes the national religion the subject of its consideration, and from the national idea of God and the truths inherent therein, rises to a universal view of the world and life, which is exercised upon the collective life of the nation. The Hebraic wisdom is the insight into the nature and will of God mediated by the reflective understanding, and the moral self-determination in correspondence with this will, — a quite peculiar intellectual tendency, similar to the philosophy of other nations, but distinguished from it in principle and form.—The contrast between the actual condition of the people's life and the ideal of the national covenant could not remain hidden from the Hebrew consciousness. Out of the consciousness of this contrast arose the Wisdom literature, and the problem which it had to solve. The task which was assigned it consisted essentially in obtaining an answer to the question as to the relation of evil to the national idea of God. While prophecy looks forward, and seeks, in the ideal condition of the future, the solution of those disharmonies from which the life of the people suffers, Wisdom looks backward, and transports the

ideal condition to the past, in order to find the explanation of those disharmonies, and, at the same time, the proper remedy for their removal in the present. Wisdom has an open eye for the shady side of present reality. It sees suffering and misfortune preponderating in human life, vain striving and small success, foolish fancies, boasting and impotence, enmity, discord, the insolence of wealth, the oppression of the poor, sickness, a short life, and the dominion of death; and over against this condition of life, the question presses forward in Wisdom, whether all this was originally ordained of God and must necessarily so remain for all time. In the most decided manner from its idea of God it answers this question in the negative, and places itself on the height of a theodicee. From this point of view, the first three chapters of Genesis, the account of the creation and the life of our first parents, are conceived: in them Wisdom has laid the foundations of its theory of the world and of life. God is the Almighty: by His word He has made heaven and earth, and everything that arose at His word was good. He created man in His own image; the breath of God was the principle of life in man. The sphere of life, which God prepared for man's first parents, was Paradise. The deeply religious fundamental thought, from which the story proceeds, is the fellowship of life with God, for which the first men were intended in conformity to their relationship with God. It is represented as a sensible outward intercourse with God, and as an eternal physical life with God, as a condition, in which men were to lead in harmony with God and nature a life free from all evils and sufferings, and to enjoy a paradisaical blessedness. But this glory, destined of God for man, was by the first man himself frustrated by reason of the transgression of a divine command; driven out of Paradise on account of his sin, man was involved in a struggle with nature and its horrors, obliged to engage in hard labour, to endure all the toils and miseries which are seen in our present lot, and rendered subject to what is most

terrible of all, the inevitable power of death. The cherubim constantly guard with flaming sword the approach to the tree of life. At the basis of this conception there lies a spirit of resignation truly tragical. To the unhappy present the ideal state seems the pure condition of a remote past. But the result to which it leads is firmly established: the ground of all evil in the condition of man is to be sought, not in God, but only in the sin of men. Now over against this actual state of matters, the people of God are not powerless and defenceless. If that which was originally lost cannot be perfectly won back again, man is, nevertheless, in a position to deliver himself from the miseries which threaten him, and even to restrain the power which death has over him. But this end is attainable only by means of struggle against sin, and wisdom itself affords the weapons for this, in so far as it rises to a more profound recognition of God. By the word of power, which created all things, Wisdom points to an intelligence in God from which the word proceeded, to an intelligence, in accordance with which God conceives and executes the plan of creation. This intelligence is the divine Wisdom which is regarded as an attribute of God, but is viewed at the same time, according to a poetic conception, as a person existing outside of God, who before anything was created was with God, and stood in relation to the creation as an artificer and master-worker by the side of God. (Prov. viii. 22.) The Almighty God, therefore, is also the All-wise, who carried out the plan of the creation according to His wisdom, and provides by His wise ordinance for sustaining the whole life of nature and man. For His own people He has laid down this ordinance in His law, and human wisdom, which cannot, indeed, fathom the depths of divine Wisdom (Job xxviii.), still recognises in the law the holy will of God as the universal rule of life for the people of God. As the Almighty and the All-wise directs and determines the affairs of all nations, so pre-eminently

He determines the affairs of His own nation, and the individual members thereof, in accordance with their attitude toward the law. The harmony between God and man, which was disturbed by sin, can only be restored through man's submitting himself to the holy will of God. Inasmuch as sin is the original cause of all evil, obedience to the law is the primary condition for winning again freedom from all suffering and the happiness of the earthly condition. In union with the almightiness and wisdom of God stands His righteousness, according to which He relates Himself in love to those who are obedient to His will, and in wrath to those who are disobedient. The realization of the ideal ends of life, which God has set before His people, is placed by Wisdom, not in a Messianic future, but in the actual present. The judgment of God is an administration of His righteousness for all times. He blesses the righteous with the richest fulness of blessing and with long life; He punishes the godless with all kinds of misfortune and sudden destruction. The didactics of Hebrew Wisdom thoroughly establishes the idea of retribution essentially corresponding to the theocratic consciousness, and is the most perfect expression of the ethical tendency which is present in Hebrew religion. The practical experience of life, however, which placed undeniable facts over against the theory, made a deep rent in this conception. The reality ordinarily presents itself, not as this theory teaches, but as something quite the reverse. Not the righteous, but the godless, live in comfort; and not the godless, but the righteous, live in misery. Unquestionable as this experience was, it exposed to danger alike the theocratic piety and the theocratic morality. If there be no moral order of the world, why fear God and keep His commandments? Out of this there sprang up for Wisdom the hard problem, the solution of which was undertaken by the author of the Book of Job. It had to defend the standpoint of faith and the ethical standpoint which Wisdom had hitherto assumed. The

highest end, which is assigned to man, is still the צְדָקָה, the righteousness of the law. Though this, by man's judgment, may be called in question constantly by reason of the misfortunes which overtake the righteous, still the righteous man should never let himself be confounded in regard to his faith and his striving, either by misfortune or by escape from misfortune. He stands under the guidance of the Almighty and All-wise God, and must, in spite of every contradiction of experience, finally be acknowledged and blessed by the righteous God in His righteousness. In the Book of Job, Hebraism with its Wisdom celebrates its highest ethical triumph.

Third Period.—The legalism which became dominant in the post-exilian community, and the foreign influence, which the community was not able to resist, led to the gradual dissolution and overthrow of the old faith of the fathers. The promise, which was given by God to His people, cannot remain unfulfilled, but the fulfilment is conditional upon the strictest observance of the legal temple worship, which excluded all idolatrous elements, and upon the most complete subjection of the whole life to the standard of the law. This is the fundamental thought which inspired the community, and which, from the times of Ezra, who himself makes his appearance as *Cohen* and *Sopher*, as priest and scribe, was fostered by means of the learning of the scribes, which gradually won the most extensive influence, and ultimately thrust aside all other intellectual employments in the community. To teach the law to the people was originally the duty of the priests, but soon now besides the priests there was formed, from the midst of the laity, a special order of scribes, who, at the beginning of the second century before Christ, were already held in high repute, as appears from the praise of the γραμματεύς by Jesus Sirach. (Chap. xxxix. 1–11.) After these scribes had out of the old literature placed together a collection of writings as inspired of God, a sacred

canon, they applied themselves with astonishing zeal to the study of it, and to the establishment of the sacred text. The most approved subject of their investigation was the law, which, with hypercritical subtilty, they explained and interpreted, in order to lead to a right understanding thereof and to an insight into all the possible consequences which might be derived therefrom, and be made applicable to the worship or to the life. The Book of Jubilees, or the little Genesis, is an instructive example of their exegesis, a commentary on the canonical Genesis, conceived quite in the spirit of that age. They sought then, also, in the synagogues to impart to the people the knowledge that had been gained in the school, and with their Halacha, their interpretations of the law, they drew a fence around the law, by means of which the introduction of any foreign element, as well as any wilful addition by the community itself, was excluded. With the appreciation of the law must advance also the depreciation of everything foreign. The people of God, who are obedient to the law, cannot remain unto all time subject to a foreign yoke. The piety resulting from scribe-learning courageously undertook the conflict with the Syrian power, and went with enthusiasm to death for their worship and its holy rule of life. All the hopes in regard to the future glory of the nation, which the old prophets in their youthful vigour had grasped, were again awakened, in the newly found school of the priestly princes, by means of the wars of the Maccabees. Poetry itself, which had now preserved a long silence, gave itself to the delivery of a prophetic message. Moved especially by the schism that was producing an inner rent among the people of God, it threatened the breakers of the law, the unholy and godless, who in company with the Gentiles desecrated the sanctuary, with perdition and Hades, while it promised to the righteous, the holy, and those who feared God, resurrection and eternal life, and besought God to send the Messiah and to establish the kingdom of the saints. (*Psalterium Salomonis.*)

But most prominent of all were now the Apocalypses, which appeared in the place of the old prophets, and filled the minds of the people with the most extravagant expectations. As the scribes treated of the law, the writers of Apocalypses dealt with the promises of the old prophets. Utterly deficient in originality and creative power, they borrowed from the prophets the Messianic promise, and sought to answer the question, to which the whole longing of the age was directed, how and when the Messianic kingdom was to be realized. The apocalyptic literature is the prophecy of reflection, and has, conformably to its inquiry regarding the final determination of things, an essentially eschatological character. According to the experience, however, which lay behind it, the circle of its historical vision was extended, as compared with the ancient prophecy. It had to solve the riddle that was everywhere pressing, how and when the Gentile rule of the world (and that was, in general terms, the rule of the wicked in the earth) would be overthrown, and the theocratic Messianic rule attain unto victory. Daniel, the Alexandrian author of the Sibylline books (Book Third), the Book of Enoch, and the Fourth Book of Esdras, agree in this, that the end of the worldly power has come, and that the people of God, who by His law are set over all other nations, will enter soon under their Messiah upon the sovereignty of the world. There is just this difference between them, that the Sibyllist, under the influence of Greek culture, does not require that the Gentile nations should be annihilated, but allows them to enter with Judah into the universal kingdom of peace, in whose capital, Jerusalem, God will shine as the eternal light. The kingdom of the Messiah as the Church of God, which embraces all its citizens, into which, also, all the departed saints of the nation, whose walk has been a walk according to the law, will be received at the resurrection of the dead, is the fulfilment of every promise to Judah. A deeply religious trait, the immoveable conviction that God who has revealed

Himself to His people, who alone is the true, and toward His own people the eternally faithful, God, appears everywhere throughout the apocalyptic proclamations. The apocalyptic writings, however, lay down their statements as the outcome of the most immediate divine revelation, which has been obtained by direct seeing and hearing in visions and dreams, or by direct communication of heavenly beings, the angels, and thereby it meets the longing deeply rooted in human nature for a divine authority which would deliver faith from every human doubt. Besides this, the attitude which it assumed toward the powers of the world, and the expectation of future glory which it led the people to indulge, are specially worthy of notice. It was particularly just in consequence of the pressure of the age, that the apocalyptic literature was fitted to win over to itself the spirit of the people, and to foster a fanaticism which recklessly hurled itself into the conflict with the might of the Roman world.

The didactic literature of this period is not carried away by the dream of that national ideal which is present everywhere in the apocalyptic writings. Under the Persian rule a perfectly rational conception of things prevailed; the reality was admitted, and the idea of retribution, which was the characteristic source of the apocalyptic literature, was in danger of being lost sight of altogether. If notwithstanding the doctrine of the scribes, if notwithstanding all obedience rendered to the law, and notwithstanding the most conscientious observance of the legal worship, the coming of the promised reward was from time to time delayed, a discouragement, dejection, and despondency must arise, which Koheleth, by means of its doctrine of the vanity of all things, endeavours to transcend. With great subtilty it effectuates the negation of the whole realm of the finite, so far as known to Hebraism. All the intellectual and material goods of life, to which man, on the ground of his moral condition, lays claim, though, indeed, there is a relative distinction of worth, are funda-

mentally considered alike worthless. A pessimism of this sort could only in theory acknowledge a moral order of the world, and could not find it in reality. Instead of breaking through the limits of the absolutely vain finitude, it lapsed into the most comfortless resignation, which recommends as the highest good a condition deprived, as far as possible, of the alternatives of life, in which man's needs have been reduced to a minimum, and enjoined the continued fear of God only as a preservative of that condition. Against this declaration, unprecedented in Israel, which was in effect a conception of the law destructive of the Wisdom theory, a reaction must of necessity set in. While the Book of Tobit, in the genial recital of the story of a strictly theocratic family, purely from the point of view of faith glorifies the idea of retribution, and causes a suitable reward to follow believing submission to the lot ordained of God, in Jesus Sirach there appears, on equal terms with the preacher, an objector, who, quite in the spirit of the pre-exilian didactic literature, seeks in Wisdom the ultimate grounding for the whole intellectual attainment and ethical deportment of his people, and with careful exactness weighs over against one another the observance of the law, especially of the legal worship, and earthly happiness. The didactic literature of later Judaism took a higher flight after coming into contact with Greek culture. Here East and West appeared over against one another in their essential characteristics as the opposition of religion and philosophy, of faith and knowledge, of intellectual restraint and intellectual freedom, and to combine these disparate mental tendencies was the endeavour of Alexandrian Judaism. The world of ideas, which the Jewish thinkers adopted from the Greek, and especially from the Platonic philosophy, raised them above the limits of finitude and the Jewish particularism, but was not able to carry them on to a breach with the ancient faith of their fathers. By means of their monotheism the Jewish people were from the beginning raised above all

the other nations, and in their sacred, inspired writings, they possessed absolute divine truth. When the Jewish thinker comes to recognise the ideas of the Gentile philosophy, he does not thereby at all bring them into conflict with the religion revealed to him. Those ideas are not a higher truth, transcending the truth of Scripture, but are rather originally contained in it, and hence only borrowed from it; an agreement which the Gentiles ought on their part to assent to by recognising the worship of Jehovah, and uniting with the Jews in common adoration of the one God. The author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, by means of Wisdom, which is identical with the knowledge of the divine revelation or the law (Fourth Book of Maccabees and Aristeas), thinks not only to lead back apostate Jews to the worship of Jehovah, but also to win to it the Gentiles, and to show unto both the way to the highest end of life. From the very idea of God he obtains the notion of Wisdom. Divine Wisdom, a substantial entity, is, as the resplendence and image of the divine essence, the self-revelation of God. As mediator between God and man, Wisdom is the principle of life which penetrates all humanity and nature. Human wisdom is an emanation of the divine, which, consecrated to the administration and plans of God, leads man to virtue, and through virtue to immortality. The idea of immortality adopted from the Platonic philosophy enables the author to rise to the idea of an eternal retribution for every human action. The righteous, with their piety and virtue, attain unto eternal life and blessed fellowship with God; the godless, with their contempt of God, and their selfish enjoyment of life, pass away in death.

Philo, the most distinguished of the Alexandrians, has affirmed the harmony between the Greek philosophy and the religion of Jehovah, and by the blending of the two has sought to bring out a universal religion that would prove acceptable to humanity as a whole. For this purpose he assigns an equal value, in his dualistic emanation system of

religious philosophy, to the fundamental truths of revelation and to the Platonic ideas. In the most comprehensive manner Philo recognises the whole formal and philosophical culture of Greece, but is, at the same time, thoroughly convinced that the truth which the Greek philosophy affords him is contained in the divine truth which his sacred writings afford him. God in Himself, the purely unknowable Being, without qualities, stands in absolute contrast over against matter without form and void. Since God, according to His original essence, cannot come into contact with matter, there proceed from the original divine essence certain divine potencies, which collectively constitute the divine intelligence, which bears in it the plan of the world, and constructs the world as a beautiful divine work of art, such as now appears. This divine intelligence conceived as a personal entity is the Logos, the medium between the divine original essence and the visible world. In the doctrine of the Logos all that in the Old Testament and in the Targums is said of the word of God, and in the Proverbs, in Job, in Jesus Sirach, and in the Wisdom of Solomon, in a more poetic form, is said of Wisdom, is by Philo wrought up into a definite philosophical notion. The Logos is the self-revealing, and, in the visible world, the revealed God. He is the eldest or first-born Son of God, the express image of God, and as such the pattern of the world and man, the organ of divine revelation to mankind. Hence it is by the Logos that the knowledge of God first becomes possible, and occupation with this is philosophy or the Wisdom accessible to all men, which raises man not only to the height of an ethical life, but to the highest stage of human intellectual development, to the theoretic contemplative life, or to mental absorption in the consideration of God and of divine things. Only the souls of those who live according to their divine destination, and according to the commandment of Wisdom have purified themselves by the practice of virtue, attain unto true immortality, to a more and more clear apprehension of God in His blessed-

ness; while, for sinners, the life after death is only a continuation of the punishment which is already experienced upon earth.

It was no easy task, but one which the Alexandrian Jews could not possibly evade, to establish exegetically the affirmation that the philosophical truth of the Greeks agreed with the revelation of Scripture. Philo in an especial manner has endeavoured to advance the proof; but the method according to which he proceeds proves rather the contrary. He interpreted Scripture allegorically, importing philosophical ideas into the literal sense of Scripture, as the deeper mystical sense; this, however, was, to say the least of it, quite foreign to the actual literal sense; and so the whole procedure shows that the Alexandrian Jews were involved in a self-deception, and by their profession of Greek philosophy were in fact transcending their national Jewish profession. Objectively considered, the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion confirms the historical fact that the national Judaism had subordinated itself to the philosophical spirit of Greece, and still retained only so much of the sense of nationality as to resolve not to confess the fact openly.

To intellectually active Jews residing abroad, who sought to transcend the conflict between their national Jewish consciousness and the appropriate Greek culture, a theosophical mysticism, with its allegorical interpretation of Scripture, as carried out by Philo, might afford the desired satisfaction, but for the mass of the Jewish people it would necessarily remain inexplicable, and without any special influence. The learning of the scribes and the apocalyptic literature had in a large measure satisfied their understanding and met their needs, so that what was presented by these two soon became an affair of the people generally. The Pharisees, who had sprung up from among the pious of the Maccabean age, men zealous in matters of the law, just as the Jesuits were zealous in matters of Church doctrine, thought to coop up the whole life of the

people, with all its utterances, within the fence of the law erected by the learning of the scribes, and to inflame the hearts of the people with the ideals of apocalyptic prophecy. The Sadducees who, in order to secure their possessions and their rank, had abandoned the national hopes, and, in opposition to the rabbinical novelties, held fast by the old written law, attaching themselves to it in the spirit of the old Wisdom, or perhaps of a Jesus Sirach, were not able, in spite of all their powerful aristocratic support, to overthrow the influence of the Pharisees among the people. Still less could the Essenes, who, withdrawing from public life, prepared themselves for the promised kingdom of God by a strictly legalistic asceticism, lead the masses of the people away from their Pharisaic leaders. Rabbinical Pharisaism was the historical product of the religion of the law, and the people with resignation placed themselves under its guidance and at its service.

Although Hebraism by means of its idea of God, by means of its separation between the finite and the infinite, rises superior to the religions of nature, it has, nevertheless, failed to recognise either the infinite in its absolute infinity, or the finite in its absolute finity. The religious ethical idealism, which obtains expression in the theocratic covenant, finds its limitation partly in the moments, according to which Hebraism still coincides with the religion of nature, in the particularism, in the institution of sacrifice, and in the ceremonial forms, which appear with the sanction of divine commands, but partly also, and chiefly, in the law itself. By reason of the covenant of God with one nation, the adoration of God is made dependent upon the continuance of this one people and the individual members of this community, and, inasmuch as the law lay at the foundation of the covenant relationship, and inasmuch as a reciprocity of duties and privileges is thereby established, the nation and its several members, on the basis of their legislation, balance, as it were, their finite interests over against God. Hebraism by means of its idea of God

does not transcend the realm of the finite, and its worship does not consist in the unconditional surrender to God, but is conditioned by the divine performances, which from a purely particularist standpoint are claimed as a reward for behaviour in accordance with the law. Hence, also, the consciousness of sin, although intensified to the utmost by the law, does not lead to a moral deepening, to a horror of sin as such, and to a spiritual victory over it, but rather to an external agreement with God, inasmuch as reconciliation is found in the sacrifices appointed by the law, and in the regular exercise of the legally prescribed forms of worship. Side by side with the present utterances of piety called forth by the theocratic idea of God, there appear others, the piety of which is determined by the particularist legal cast of thought. The supplication of Psalmists for the forgiveness of sins has its origin, not in sorrow for sin, but in outward misfortune; and it has in view, not deliverance from sin, but from the outward miseries of life.[1] Even the ethical pathos of the prophets, with which they demand from the people moral reformation and moral sentiments, has not ethical improvement for its final end, but the hope thereby to bring about the external divine state, in which the theocratic people are to attain unto might, dominion, and the full enjoyment of life. Therefore, even the highest ethical ideal which the Hebrew Wisdom has delineated in Job, wants the essentially religious basis, faithfulness unto God purely

[1] For a much more profound and correct estimate of the theology of the Psalms, see Perowne, The Psalms (London 1883), vol. i., Introd. pp. 61, 62. He shows that while the sense of sin is often first awakened by suffering, and acts of sin are referred to rather than the sinful nature, yet in Psalm li., for example, we have distinct confession of the sinful nature, and sin defined as wrong committed against God. The Psalmist enlarges on the blessedness of forgiveness in words which Paul in the Epistle to the Romans finds suitable to his argument about justification by faith; and generally they enlarge upon the need and longing for sanctification through the Spirit. Compare, also, Hengstenberg on the Psalms (Edin. 1864), vol. iii. Appendix vii., On the Doctrinal Matter of the Psalms, especially pp. lviii.-lxiv. Dr. Binnie, The Psalms: their History, Teachings, and Use. Edinburgh 1877.—Ed.

for God's sake. Although in Judaism toward the close of its history there was seen a spiritual elevation beyond the bounds of finitude, this did not occur through the energy of the national mind, but by means of ideas borrowed from foreign philosophy. On the contrary, the characteristics of Mosaism showed themselves on the national soil in their strict peculiarity. The particularism inherent in it attained to its most extreme expression in the apocalyptic promise of a universal Jewish sovereignty of the world, and its ethical tendency based on the law reached its culmination in the scholasticism of rabbinical Pharisaism. If the apocalyptic hopes with which the national spirit was nourished, led to the outward overthrow of Judaism, the Pharisaic scholasticism destroyed the religious life of the people in its deepest roots. The legalistic formalism, by which the life acceptable to God was externalized into a mere service of the letter, could afford no true satisfaction to religiously determined feelings. It must have rendered such as were in earnest about the fulfilling of the law and of all the statutes added by the Wisdom of the schools, conscious of the deep cleft that had opened between human impotence and the divine requirements, so that delight in the law was turned into despondency, and the required obedience into man's despair of God and of himself.

THIRD DIVISION—CHRISTIANITY.—In its most comprehensive sense the word is true that the fulness of the times had come when Christ was sent (Gal. iv. 4). The religion of nature, in the highest form of the development which it reached in Greece, had been overthrown, and Hebraism in its Mosaic form had degenerated into a religion of mere externalism. While in the Græco-Roman world, from the feeling of God-forsakenness, the longing after God was awakened, and in Judaism, out of the deepest impulse of the heart, the yearning after reconciliation with God was born, Christ appeared as the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. With Him the history of religion and the divine revelation embraced in it, come to

a conclusion. His religious self-consciousness is the idea of religion, by which man was brought to a consciousness of the true nature of God and of his own nature. As it was manifested in Christ Himself as a personal life, the one aim of His life was to communicate it to all those who would receive it, and of them to form a Church which would be the historical bearer of that life. The New Testament history of religion has therefore a twofold task, to show forth (1) the religious self-consciousness of Jesus, and (2) the Christian consciousness of the early Church.

1. *The Religious Self-consciousness of Jesus.*—In treating of the first division we have to consider the life of Jesus, since only from a collective view thereof can its innermost spiritual characteristics be understood. The life of Jesus of Nazareth was destined to gain the importance of a fact of universal history, but originally it had no conspicuous influence upon the course of Jewish history, still less upon the course of the general history of the age. It was spent first of all in the quiet and retirement of the Galilean province; and even when it appeared on a more public platform in the capital, Jerusalem, it did not even then press into the foreground of the national history. Hence, the most fitting place to be assigned for its treatment in the theological system appears to be exegetical theology, and in it the history of New Testament religion. In consequence of the importance which the life of its founder has for the Church, all the principal divisions of theology are in a high degree interested in it; but, even apart from the fact that it pre-eminently is in possession of the means for its exposition, exegetical theology has in it undoubtedly the most intimate and the highest interest. The history of the life of Jesus, which exegetical theology has to give, will at the same time serve as a storehouse from which also the other divisions of theology have to draw.

The theology of the ancient Church, owing to its dogmatic standpoint, did not give its attention to a history of Jesus.

This branch of study owes its origin to modern theology. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, and more and more since the second quarter of the present century, it has been recognised in its full significance for theology. By Schleiermacher and Hase it was included in the course of academical lectures, and both by them and by their followers its literary elaboration has been pursued with special earnestness. Here, as scarcely in any other department, the theological antitheses come into collision with one another. After David Strauss, in his Life of Jesus, had carried out the mythical treatment of the gospel history, and by this means had accomplished the most complete breach with the dogmatics of the early Church, a theological conflict was kindled, which spread into the widest theological circles, and led to the most elaborate and complete investigations in regard to all the subjects belonging to this department. On one side, without, indeed, direct reference to Strauss, but still making acknowledgment of the service rendered by him to science, this department has, with various gradations, been further developed. Among those who have wrought in this direction we may name Hase, Neander, Ammon, Ewald, Weisse, Renan, Schenkel, Keim, Krüger-Velthusen, Wittichen. On the other side, greater confidence was shown in the conception of the traditional and dogmatic Christ that had been supported by the Church. Of those manifesting these conservative tendencies, we may name especially Krabbe, Ebrard, and J. P. Lange.[1] According to the confession of one of its most distinguished representatives, this branch is still only in its infancy;[2] but this much at least has been accomplished by means of the conflict, that a general agreement has been reached in regard to the method of its treatment. And since upon this the understanding of the life of Jesus in its his-

[1] On the literature, compare K. Hase, Geschichte Jesu Leipzig 1876. S. 110 ff.

[2] Hase, Geschichte Jesu. S. 162.

torical reality depends, the investigation and exposition of it must be conducted on purely historical principles. Therefore, without any dogmatic presuppositions whatever, but only, as should be self-evident, with the general theological interest, the exegete has here to address himself to his work, and to describe the history of the life of Jesus in accordance with the demands of historical science.[1] Here, however, the historical task has to contend against the most extraordinary difficulties. The greatness of the subject, and not less the peculiar condition of the sources, place difficulties in the way of the historian which can scarcely be completely overcome. The principal sources which are at the command of the exegete for the history of Jesus are the four New Testament Gospels. But these as a whole are not contemporary accounts composed by eye and ear witnesses of the life of Jesus. Jesus Himself has written nothing: the contemporary accounts of others are not in our possession; and for the investigation, the first two decades after the death of Jesus are a period devoid of literature. None of the Gospels date back to the period of the Pauline Epistles. To this there must be added, that the authors of all the four Gospels, according to their own statements, had no intention of giving an objectively exact historical presentation of the life of Jesus, but rather in their presentation they pursue religious tendencies. They delineate Jesus in order to lead to the exercise of faith in Him, and represent Him in the reflection of the idea which the person of Christ had already assumed in their own heart. While, then, the first three Gospels, the so-called synoptical Gospels,

[1] Theology can have no objection to having the life of Jesus treated from the standpoint of the general history of the world and of the extra-Christian, as is done by L. Noack, Die Geschichte Jesu. 2 Ausgabe. Mannheim 1876. In doing so, however, Noack should remember that he must not exclude the theological interest which is in the truth. In his Jesus, however, addicted to enthusiasm, not only theology, but also historical science and philosophy, will scarcely find anything else than an anachronism. While Strauss accommodates to his own polemical purpose a historical Christianity, Noack sets up a historical Christ that will justify him in withdrawing himself from Him.

notwithstanding frequent variation in particulars, by a surprising agreement in the most of the narratives, manifest an undeniable relationship, the fourth evangelist again evidently is distinguished from them, as well by his peculiar conception of Christ as by the account of the outward course of His life. In presence of this fact, the credibility of his sources generally must be questioned by the historian, and especially there will be an uncertainty as to which of his sources he is mainly to rely upon for the history of Jesus, whether on John, or on the Synoptists, and again on which of these. The difficulty is so great, that it may well induce one to entertain the doubt, whether in this department generally anything actually and historically certain can be ascertained. Nevertheless even here criticism will shed the necessary light, at least upon the principal points. Led by it, the historian, in order to gain information as to the condition of his sources, will be obliged to inform himself thoroughly in regard to the circumstances of their inception, and to take up his position at the beginnings of the early Christian Church. For the circle of His first disciples the Lord after His death was necessarily the middle point of their every thought and hope. Their memory would surely recur constantly to the life they led with Him, and love would glorify to the utmost the person of the departed. The similarity of the synoptic accounts in regard to the discourses and acts of the Lord shows that they were communicated to the young community by ear and eye witnesses, and preserved by it in regular tradition, and probably also even then fixed by writing. These constituent parts of oral and written tradition, mixed with ideal traits, were without doubt imported into our synoptical Gospels, and retained by the later writers, who adopted them into their collected works, together with their own further ideal additions. These fundamental elements of the synoptic Gospels, which reach back to the pre-Pauline period, undoubtedly guarantee the historic fidelity of the first Gospels in a higher

degree than that of the fourth Gospel is guaranteed, which also indeed points back to the synoptic tradition, but, in consequence of its excessively ideal conception of the person of Jesus, calls forth more serious doubt as to its historicity. The decision of the controversy over the Johannine writings does not seem to have the great importance for the history of Jesus which many appear to attach to it. In any case, the question in dispute is not to be stated as if, were the fourth Gospel the work of the beloved disciple, it would then be historical; and were it, on the other hand, the work of a later and unknown writer, it would be unhistorical. Even in the former case it might contain what is unhistorical, and in the latter case, what is historical. However one may decide, he will not be able to withhold the acknowledgment that the fourth Gospel presents not so much a history as a doctrine about Christ; but, on the other hand, he will be justified in regarding this doctrine as a faithful reflection from the actual life of Jesus.[1]

If, therefore, the historian by literary criticism is enabled to place his sources on a real historical basis, and is raised above radical doubt in regard to their credibility, he will find himself at the same time obliged to employ historical criticism upon his sources with reference to their origin and the ideal conceptions, which were formed in the bosom of the early Church, and which are to be taken into account in the representation of its Christian consciousness. In the Gospel narratives, too, the question is how to separate the actually historical from the ideal elements, which belong to poetry, legend, or myth, and how to estimate those constituents themselves according to their ideal value. But, however microscopically one may proceed in the matter, he must always

[1] On the sources, compare Th. Keim, Geschichte Jesu von Nazara. 3 Bde. Zurich 1867–1872, i. S. 7–172. [English translation: History of Jesus of Nazareth. 6 vols. London 1873–1884. See vol. i. p. 10 ff.] Hase, Leben Jesu. S. 8–92. Bleek and Hilgenfeld, Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

leave himself open to conviction, and renounce any attempt at producing a complete biographical delineation of Jesus. This renunciation may indeed be made unhesitatingly. The various outward occurrences, and the various psychological dispositions and ethical fluctuations, the most complete knowledge of which is indispensable for the plan of a biography, are not of such importance that if, on account of the incompleteness and frequently peculiar condition of the sources, they cannot be perfectly reproduced, the main purpose of this course of study, which is to penetrate into the inmost core of the personality of Jesus, and to bring into view His religious self-consciousness, would be thereby rendered impossible.

In respect of His birth Jesus belongs to the past and to His own nation; in respect of His works, He belongs to the future and to mankind. His spiritual development and public activity were dependent upon national conditions and influences, but, at the same time, they were animated by an original power of His own spirit witnessed to by God. In the synagogue, according to the custom of the time, initiated in the Holy Scriptures, possessed by divine thoughts, which they had afforded Him, and by the glory to which His people had been called of God; in His home too, and regularly at the festal gatherings at Jerusalem, brought into contact with the national sufferings of His nation, with the tyrannical acts of parties and their unscrupulous political plans, with the intellectual bondage of the people, with the troubles of their religious life, with the externalizing of their worship: Jesus rose to the noble height of resolving to lead His people, and with them mankind, to a spiritual new birth. Inspired with the Old Testament idea of God, He at the same time appropriated the most profound idea of ancient prophecy when He confessed Himself to be the Messiah, who was to carry out the plan of God in reference to His people. Starting from this national foundation, which constituted the

historical presupposition for the religious consciousness of Jesus, He at the same time broke through the limits of the national consciousness of God, for He transcended the hard dualism by which in Mosaism God and man were separated from one another. God does not stand out before Him as the Almighty, who lays down His will as an external law, in order by its fulfilment and by the legal worship of the temple to enforce adoration under promises of reward and threatenings of punishment, but as the heavenly Father, who enters into immediate communion with Him. Jesus conceives of God in the very spirit in which God originally revealed Himself to mankind, and not only momentarily and transitorily, as the prophet of the Old Testament, but constantly and enduringly, He knows Himself to be determined by the Spirit of God. The idea of God with the full ideal content, which under the Old Testament it possessed, adopted into His own spiritual life, is the power which, working from within, raises Him above the covenant of the law. For Him there was no need of an outward law which should inform Him of the will of God. The Spirit of God dwelling within Him teaches Him immediately the will of God. It is not the positive law that is, by reason of its traditional sanction, the ruling and determining authority in His life, but the divine will witnessed to in His own inmost being. He stands under the law only in so far as He stands over it. His life is a life in the Spirit of God and the perfect fulfilling of the law. By reason of His spiritual fellowship with God, He knows Himself to be in the most intimate relationship with Him, in the relationship of the Son, whose life is spent in working in love to the Father, and in the calling ordained by Him, for the salvation of His people and the salvation of mankind. For the religious consciousness of Jesus, both the Old Testament idea of God and the Old Testament idea of the Messiah must lose their national limitation, and attain the universal religious ethical significance already inherent in them. In

His public work wrought before His fellow-countrymen, to which He points as historical, and in those works performed before the chosen circle of the twelve apostles, Jesus has done nothing else than give expression by word and deed to what was living within Him. It is not a mere doctrine, or a perfectly-rounded doctrinal system, that He has to preach. Not as a man of the school, not as a learned Rabbi, not even as a prophet, does He make His appearance, but as the true revealer of religion, who presents before the eyes of His fellow-countrymen the religious life realized in Him. Thus, not according to any previously designed and arranged plan, but moved by the impulse of His own spirit, He influences all those who will follow Him, to rise into the same communion with God, of which in His own heart He Himself is certain. The call which He addressed to His contemporaries: *μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ* (Mark i. 15), appears to use *μετανοεῖν* not only in the ethical, but likewise in the intellectual sense, so that, besides return from estrangement from God and from sin, it signifies generally return from the whole tendency of thought implied in the external legal service, which leads to estrangement from God and does not work deliverance from sin. The other positive requirement added to the negative *μετανοεῖτε*, faith in the message of the kingdom of God, has pre-eminently for its content faith in the person of Him who brings the message, and in all the conditions which He prescribes for entrance into the kingdom of God. As the founder of the kingdom of God, the Jews longed for the Messiah. This longing Jesus met. He preached the kingdom of God, and as the Messiah made Himself known to the people. But in accordance with the Messianic calling as it appeared to the mind of Jesus, the kingdom of God founded by Him was not that worldly kingdom of Jewish dominion expected by the Jews, but one pointing back indeed to Old Testament foundations, but freed from all particularist-Judaic hopes. In its full ideality He established a purely spiritual

kingdom of God or kingdom of heaven, which, in contrast to the kingdoms of the world, consists rather in elevation above and deliverance from the world. True and firm faith in Jesus as the Messiah was, therefore, essentially conditioned by the whole work of Jesus, from which there was awakened among His people that spirit which led to the acknowledgment of the kingdom founded by Him, and to the fulfilment of the conditions of the kingdom which He laid down. As Christ knows Himself to bear to God the relation of Son, He sets in place of the covenant of the law in the new kingdom the covenant of love between God and man. The one God of the old covenant is the heavenly Father, who embraces all men in His Fatherly love (Matt. v. 45). The negative condition of entrance into His kingdom is the *μετάνοια*, the turning away from the righteousness of the law, and the penitent forsaking of sin; the positive condition is love to God and love to our neighbour springing therefrom (Matt. xxii. 34 ff.; Mark xii. 28 ff.; Luke x. 25 ff.). The divine will, the knowledge and realization of which are conditioned by the love of God and of our neighbour, is the law and aim of the kingdom. The Mosaic law is unquestionably a revelation of God, but first through love does it find its true meaning and fulfilment. The same is true of all the utterances and manifestations of the religious-moral life, which were called forth by the idea of God of the Old Testament, but altered and contracted by the legal particularism which restricted it to the finite, and, especially in the times of Jesus, clouded and obscured by Rabbinism and Pharisaism, by the abstract speculations of Wisdom, and the fantastic pictures of the apocalyptic writings. The fundamental elements of the divine life, trust in God, humility, obedience to the divine will, gentleness, mercifulness, peaceableness, suffering for God's sake,—these are first explained by love, and understood in their truth and in their purely ideal and universally human meaning. The righteousness thus born of love is the righteousness of the kingdom of

God. By means of it are won the forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God, and life eternal. The citizens of the kingdom of God are like Christ, the sons of God, who enjoy the closest communion with Him, and possess the most perfect liberty which emancipates from all anxiety about earthly things, and places everything finite at the service of the eternal. In consequence of His historical position, Jesus called His fellow-countrymen to the kingdom of God; but it is intended not only for Jews, but in its very nature, and in accordance with the commission which He gave to His disciples, to receive all nations into discipleship by baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, it was intended for mankind. The kingdom of God founded by Christ has a thoroughly universal character. It is a universal human kingdom of love, of the righteousness of love, of peace with God, of freedom, of blessedness, and of eternal life.[1] The fundamental characteristics thereof are laid down by Jesus in numerous proverbial sayings, such as those gathered together in the Sermon on the Mount and in numerous parables. The Lord's Prayer is the most concise expression of His religious consciousness complete in itself. It alone is a witness to the historicity of His person, and not less the simplicity and clearness of His teaching generally, which forms the most beautiful contrast to the sophistical, redundant, and dark doctrinal method of the scribes and Pharisees, the teachers of Wisdom and the writers of Apocalypses. His word, which expressed the profoundest truth in the simplest and universally intelligible form, could not fail to make its impression (Matt. vii. 28, 29; Mark xii. 37), and must, especially when always

[1] Compare on the kingdom of heaven, A. Immer, Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Bonn 1877. S. 63 ff. [Dr. J. S. Candlish, The Kingdom of God. Cunningham Lectures for 1884. Especially — Lect. II. Old Testament and Post-Canonical Jewish Views. Lect. III. Teaching of Christ and Apostles. Lect. IV. Doctrinal Idea of Kingdom of God. Pp. 49–231. Also important paper by Prof. A. B. Bruce in Monthly Interpreter for November 1884, pp. 31–48: "Christ's Idea of the Kingdom."]

and everywhere confirmed by His works, have knit to Him the hearts of many of His fellow-countrymen. The few who at the first believed in Him, and acknowledged Him as the Messiah who had come to found the promised kingdom of God, broke thereby completely with the Judaism that held by the tradition, which looked for an altogether different Messiah. The greater the enthusiasm of His followers for Him was, so much the more bitter was the hatred with which the great mass of the people, the dominant parties, and the priestly aristocracy, persecuted the dangerous innovator, the deceiver of the people, and the mover of sedition. Christ must suffer death by a national decree that is passed upon Him; but He went to death with a free resolve, in order to witness by His death that life in the service of God is to be presented as a sacrifice, and to give to the truth preached by Him its highest confirmation. With reference to His approaching death He instituted the Lord's Supper, as an enduring memorial of His death on the part of His own, and as a repeated admonition, that all who believe in Him and are resolved to follow Him, are under obligation to render that spiritual sacrifice, in love to God to abandon the love of self, of worldly property, and even that possession dearest of all, life itself (Matt. x. 37–39, xvi. 24, 25; Luke xiv. 25 ff.).

The life of Jesus stands out in the circle of contemporary events as an illuminated picture from a dark historical background, the rays of which now light up the history of mankind. When it was seen that the way of the law did not lead to salvation, Christ pointed out the way of the Spirit, upon which mankind should attain unto the true life in God. What the old prophets had longed for and prophesied, was in a higher way fulfilled in Him. The national-restricted theocratic commonwealth was remodelled and conceived of as a type to the future of a kingdom of God destined for mankind. In place of the Jewish dominion of the world that had been dreamt of, was presented the dominion of the

Spirit of God over the world. As a revolter against the law, Christ was brought to the cross, and was laid in the grave; but His work could not be crucified and buried. As the beginning of a new universal-historical development, it has celebrated its resurrection. What constituted the inmost core of the personal life of Jesus, the consciousness of God which He lived out in the midst of His people, is the new religion of humanity, Christianity according to its idea as the fellowship of spirit between God and man, realized in Christ by means of the Spirit of God, the idea of religion, which the Church, and with it, theology, confess. In the history of religion, Christianity appears as the highest revelation of the religious spirit. All imperfections and defects, from which the pre-Christian religions suffer, are by means of Christianity surmounted and overcome. The particularism, which is characteristic of all of them, all worship of the finite, all legalism, all mere external sacrificial service and ritual, vanish before the universalism and the spiritualized monotheism of Christianity.

2. *The Christian Consciousness of the Early Church.*—According to Jesus' own expression, the kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed, which was cast into a field, and grew into a great tree; a kingdom, therefore, which from the most insignificant beginnings gradually spread out in historical advancement (Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Mark iv. 31, 32). The soil in which the seed was laid, was the first circle of His disciples, who, according to the Acts of the Apostles, soon after the death of Jesus, were developed into Jewish Christian congregations in Jerusalem. The faith was essentially faith in the Messiah, the faith that Jesus is the promised Messiah, and the kingdom founded by Him the promised kingdom of God. The spiritual impression which His life made on the disciples, and the love which personal intercourse with Him had strengthened, could not possibly be destroyed by His death, but must rather, just by that death, have been aroused

into the highest enthusiasm for Him who had departed from them. The young disciples clung to the person of their leader in all their memories and hopes. As the members of this early Christian community had issued from Judaism, and, in Jerusalem, were involved in a struggle with opponents of their own nation, they were required, in consequence of their position, to justify and confirm their faith in the Messiah before their own Jewish consciousness, and before its opponents among their own countrymen. Upon this their further increase was mainly dependent. Thus undoubtedly, during the first decade after the death of Jesus, the Church developed an apologetic idealizing activity, which drew its proofs from the source of the Old Testament universally acknowledged as a divine revelation, and sought to affirm its right to free itself from the traditional Judaism generally by this, that it pointed to the realization of the national ideal in its Messiah, and raised its faith in the Messiah to the highest point of the national consciousness. These early stages of spiritual movement in the primitive Church are not documentarily attested by means of contemporary writings, but that they existed is undoubtedly proved from the later literature. It was above all the death of Jesus on the cross which formed the stumbling-block to the Jewish consciousness. Irreconcilable with the view of the Messiah fostered by prophets and writers of Apocalypses, it not only stood opposed to the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus, but justified its most decided rejection. The offence was removed only by a higher providential significance being given to the historical fact. In strict connection with the Old Testament sacrificial worship, the Church represented the death of Christ as an act accomplished in accordance with the divine counsel, by means of which the end of the old covenant was first attained, and the expiation lying at the basis of the idea of sacrifice under the law was perfectly realized. The death of Christ is the sin-offering present to the divine punitive-righteousness for the sins of mankind, a

view which was in harmony with the Jewish consciousness, and, in respect of its comforting contents, was quite peculiarly fitted to win consideration for the idea of the Messiah's death upon the cross. Should this be gained by the divine intention, to which the suffering of death was attributed, then by means of this in a still higher measure, the enthusiasm, which had decided for Jesus as Messiah, was intensified in consequence of His death. The present condition of the Church did not thoroughly correspond to the glory of the Messianic kingdom. Had the work of Christ ended with His death, faith in Him and in His kingdom must have appeared to the Jewish consciousness a vain delusion, and Judaism would have been right in withholding itself from it, and in looking, afterwards as well as before, for the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, to the future. If the Christian Church is to maintain its faith, it must harmonize with the national expectation, but, at the same time, transcend this position by conceiving of its Messiah who has already appeared as the Messiah of the future. The work of Christ was not brought to a close by the death of Christ, but only interrupted, and it is to be perfected by the very one who began it, by Christ at His second coming. Thus over the grave of Christ sprang up a sacred poetry, which was animated by the deepest religious motives, and transferred to the risen Christ, idealized in a Christian spirit, views which the imagination of prophets and apocalyptic seers had entertained regarding the Messiah. The yearning of the Church longed for an outward act of reunion with the Lord instead of the merely spiritual communion, and crowded together the gradual historical course, which Jesus Himself had required for his kingdom, into the visible, and indeed immediately ensuing, event of a particular moment of time. If Jesus is the Messiah and sent of God to establish His kingdom, then He could not remain under the power of death. Christ has arisen from the dead and ascended into heaven, sits on the right hand of God, and

watches over his Church upon earth. When the measure of its sufferings is full, He will from heaven appear again on earth, and judge the just and the unjust. The wicked will be driven into the place of eternal fire for eternal punishment. All powers of the world hostile to His kingdom, especially the demoniacal powers and the kingdom of Satan, pass into condemnation; whereas all His own, who have approved themselves by continuousness and stedfastness in the faith, will, in this now completed kingdom of God, be received into the glory of the sons of God and into the life eternal. All these detailed events stand in closest connection with one another, and have meaning and significance only as the indispensable elements in the eschatological picture of the future, which the faith of the Church created, and which now formed the essential content of its Christian hope. The ultimate end thereof is the return, the *parousia* of Christ. By means of it, time, for the primitive Christian consciousness, divides itself into two periods, into that of the present time, and into that of the time to come, the *parousia*. This is a distinction which had a far-reaching influence upon the ethical condition of the Church. The whole of the present state of the world is a merely provisional condition. All the things of the world are as such temporal and changing. The vision of the glory of the consummation, which enters with the *parousia* of the Lord, raises the Christian above the joys and sorrows which the things of the world cause.

The Christian Church borrowed from the Jewish apocalyptic writings the poetic form for its hope, and in this form depicted the future victory of the kingdom of God over the world. It thus secured for its faith, not only the peculiar elevation of the Jewish consciousness, but also a real historical foundation, since it made the Christ who had already appeared the bearer of the conception that was to dominate the future, and indeed of a conception which in its ideality had not arisen in the Jewish consciousness before Christ. The view, which has

gained expression in the primitive Christian hope, is a poem of the future complete in itself and precisely arranged, of which the several parts are misconceived and misunderstood, if one wrests them from their articulation, as is specially the case in treating of the resurrection of Christ. If one demands an outward historical attestation thereof, he will always be answered by a historical *non liquit*.[1] Should one regard it as historical, because only by the miracle of the resurrection could the disciples have been raised out of their despondency after the death of Christ,[2] he disregards the spiritual miracle, the power which Jesus during His life must have exercised over His disciples. The enthusiasm of the disciples does not owe its origin to the resurrection, but, on the contrary, the resurrection depends on that enthusiasm. As the ascension, the session of Christ on God's right hand, the parousia, and the judgment associated therewith, so also the resurrection of Jesus finds its historical explanation in the Apology which the early Christian Church had to render on behalf of its faith. And if, according to Dan. xii. 2, 3, the resurrection of the dead be connected with the time of the end, the Christian Church had at hand the answer that, first of all, for the perfecting of His kingdom, the founder of the kingdom Himself must rise. That under the influence of Jewish views all those notions referred to, which constituted the body of the eschatological hope, were very soon regarded by the primitive Christian Church as historical realities of the past and of the future, and as such became the object of its firmest conviction, should be less the occasion of surprise, than that during the later Christian centuries those notions should also with equal tenacity be maintained. Poetry was changed into history.[3] The Chris-

[1] Compare Keim, Geschichte Jesu, iii. S. 600.

[2] Compare Immer, Theologie des Neuen Testaments. S. 178.

[3] This passage on the development of the doctrine of Christ's resurrection is unsatisfactory alike in substance and in form. The method is as faulty as the result. Räbiger professes to treat it here as a question of biblical theology, which again is a section of exegetical theology. Instead of dealing with it

tian theory of life, which sprang out of the procedure, has not only dominated the primitive Christian period, but with varying effect, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker, has also penetrated the Christian period following, and has undoubtedly become, in connection with the idea of sacrifice, which attaches itself to the death of Christ, a historical vehicle for introducing under a Jewish shell the ideal monotheism into the life of the nations.

All of the New Testament writers, but pre-eminently the Apostle Paul and John, are sharers in the belief in the sacrificial death and *parousia* of Christ, and give evidence that this faith had become the common property of the early Christian Church, which it derived from Judaism. But their writings likewise afford undoubted testimony to the fact that, within the range of this common faith, important differences had found their way into the consciousness of the Church. These arose from the consideration of the historical Christ. To understand the peculiar nature of Christ was necessarily of primary interest to the young Church. The enthusiasm which was communicated to the Church by the disciples and their reports of His historical doings, and also, in no less degree, the view of the glorified Christ which had already established itself in the consciousness of the Church, had an influence upon the Church's conception of the historical Christ. The tendency by which, amid all sort of divergences, the Church was led, included always the acknowledgment of the principle of the divine life, which was realized in the person of Christ, and the exaltation of Christianity over Judaism, and the recognition of a separate place for Christianity, by means of the idealization of the historical Christ, as well as by His glorification into the heavenly Christ. The very diversity,

exegetically, he treats it dogmatically. He looks, not at biblical statements, but at critical and speculative presuppositions. For a discussion of the biblical doctrine of the resurrection of Christ conducted in a truly scientific exegetical manner, the student is referred to Godet, Comm. on St. John. 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1876, 1877. Vol. iii. pp. 322-331. Excursus on the Resurrection of Jesus.—Ed.

however, which appeared in the conception was no fortuitous one, but was determined by the diverse spiritual tendencies which were developed in Judaism during the period of its formation, and had found expression in its literature. The New Testament literature, as history, didactic writings, and Apocalypse, is a continuation of the Old Testament literature, and so soon as a literary, historical, and didactic activity began in the early Christian Church, which was directed to the historical Christ, the conception thereof had to be determined in accordance with the national peculiarity of the Old Testament historical and didactic writing, just as the conception of the heavenly Christ was determined by the preceding prophecy and apocalyptic writing. The Synoptists, who describe the historical life of Jesus, proceed therein, not according to the standard of historical criticism, but according to the standard of the old theocratic pragmatism, which subordinates history to definite tendencies, and puts, instead of human interventions in history, an immediate administration and interference of God. In the sense of this pragmatism, the Synoptists relate and idealize the history of Jesus in order to establish faith in Him as the Messiah. The sent of God, now the Messiah enthroned in heaven, could not have entered this world in the natural way of human birth. He was born by supernatural procreation by the power of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, and heavenly powers, in the form of angels and a miraculous star, minister to Him immediately before and immediately after His birth. In respect of His origin He is the Son of God, not only as the Messiah endowed with the Divine Spirit, who stands in the closest religious ethical fellowship with God, but as the immediately begotten of the Divine Spirit, He stands in the position of physical Sonship and real fellowship with God. The Spirit of God belongs to His nature, and confers upon Him divine might, in accordance with which He exercises authority over Nature, and especially over the kingdom of Satan and the evil spirits. According to

the reports of the Synoptists, the miracles of Jesus, while, indeed, mostly proofs of His mercy and love, are yet likewise evident manifestations of the divine power indwelling in Him. How very partial the age was to this view is shown most distinctly by the apocryphal Gospels, the legendary stories of which divest the miracles of their ideal background, and reduce them into mere exhibitions of prodigies. As the ideal Son of God, Christ suffers according to the divine counsel the sacrificial death for the forgiveness of the sins of men, but by resurrection goes forth from death, and ascends up to His heavenly Father. In so far as the Synoptists, on the foundation of Old Testament statements, advance the proof that the historical Jesus is the true Messiah, and the kingdom founded by Him the true kingdom of God, Christianity appears as the fulfilling of the Old Covenant, and as such separates itself from it, without, however, leading to the overthrow of the covenant of the law. On the contrary, after the fellowship with God destroyed by sin has been restored by means of the sin-offering of Christ, the law remains as it is, and indeed continues valid in its strictly Jewish exclusive sense as the way of salvation, which leads to the kingdom of God, and those who are not Jews, the Gentiles, can only find acceptance on the condition that they enter into the full Jewish fellowship of the law. Christianized Judaism could not so easily appropriate the purely spiritual and religious view of Christ. In it the national particularism still contends with universalism, the law with love, the righteousness of the law with the righteousness of love.

The didactic writings of the New Testament adopt a higher standpoint, as represented in the Pauline Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the writings of John. Their representation of the glorified Christ apart, the didactic writers connect their consideration of the historical Christ with the national didactic literature. The sublimest ideas which the Hebraic doctrine of Wisdom, and especially Philo, had developed in

reference to the nature of God and His revelation to the world, are adopted by the New Testament writers, and transferred by them to the historical Christ. The abstract thoughts of Wisdom and philosophy have assigned to them their historical reality, and appear before the eyes of men in the person of Christ as an actual human life. The historical Christ is identical with the ideal Christ. As this ideal Christ, He was raised to a height which the Jewish consciousness could not surmount, and He offered to that Jewish consciousness what all prophecy could not, an absolute guarantee and assurance of truth. Paul, a Pharisee and strict Jew, but made acquainted with the ideas of the Church by reason of his struggle against it, had become, in consequence of a revelation of the glorified Christ to him in an ecstatic condition, a convert to the new faith. The Christ who revealed Himself from heaven was the man Jesus. If he were to believe in this Christ, then he must seek for his spiritual culture in a deeper grounding of his faith. This he found in the already developed national doctrine. The glorification, the exaltation of Christ in heaven, led of itself to the notion, that in the man Jesus a divine principle must have been present, by which during His life He was animated, and which afterwards opened an entrance for Him into heaven. The idea which had been developed from the Old Testament idea of God, from the word and Wisdom of God, appeared to Paul to be this principle. The speculative idea of mediation between God and the world was conceived of hypostatically as that Divine Being in whom the absolutely invisible God had perfectly revealed Himself, as that Being who from eternity was with God, by whom He made the world, and led mankind to a knowledge of Himself. This Divine Being, as the express image of God Himself in the full possession of the divine glory, has, in accordance with the counsel of God, appeared in the historical Christ in human form as a servant, in order that by means of His operation upon men a new spiritual world might be created, as had

originally been done in the physical world. A pre-existent heavenly nature is in the historical Jesus the divine principle of His life. Jesus, according to Paul, is in a purely metaphysical sense the Son of God, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης.[1] How this union was accomplished, Paul nowhere says. It was with him a postulate, as a reflection from the glorified Christ. A metaphysical abstraction is here met with. The speculative idea is not reconciled with the empirical reality. Over against the consciousness of sin and guilt, over against the law which Paul had experienced in its full depth, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, appeared as the one Redeemer, who was able to overcome the disunion between God and man, and restore a universal reign of peace. Quite in the Jewish spirit of the law, Paul conceives of the Son of God, whom God sent in the form of human sinful flesh, who yet Himself knew no sin, as taking upon Him the curse of the law which was oppressing man, death on account of sin. In place of man, Christ suffers death in order to satisfy the divine righteousness, and God in His grace accepts the death of the guiltless as a sin-offering for the whole sinful race of mankind. By means of the death of the Son of God, however, not only the guilt of sin is taken away, but the dominion of sin itself is thereby broken. With the slaying of His flesh upon the cross, the power which sin had under the law by means of the flesh is also slain. The physical crucifixion of the flesh involves the moral.

By means of the sacrifice of Christ the enmity between God and man is annulled, and reconciliation with God secured. The covenant of the law which led to sin and death, and the

[1] In my Christologia Paulina I have sought to prove that a pre-existent nature is to be presupposed for the Pauline Son of God, and most modern exegetes are on this point agreed. But to regard the pre-existent nature, with Pfleiderer, as the heavenly man, seems to me irreconcilable with such passages as 1 Cor. viii. 6, and even Col. i. 15–19. In opposition to Pfleiderer's view, that the Christology f Paul is an original product of his own mind, may be alleged the scarcely deniable relationship between his views and those of Philo. Compare O. Pfleiderer, Der Paulinismus. Leipzig, 1873. P. 124 ff. [English translation: Paulinism. 2 vols. London 1877. Vol. i. pp. 138–146.]

righteousness of the law, which does not make free from sin, are brought to an end. The way of salvation opened up through the death of Christ is the way of faith. The faith, which in the death of Christ apprehends the love and grace of God, wins from divine grace the righteousness that is acceptable before God, and enters into a mystical fellowship with Christ, in which it receives from the Son of God the divine principle, the Spirit, which out of the old creates the new man, and makes believers partakers of the divine sonship and sharers in the liberty of the sons of God. By means of the resurrection, Christ is shown to be, what He originally was, the Son of God κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, and as the first-born from the dead returns to His original glory in heaven, whence, after a short delay, He will come again to execute judgment, and to take His believing ones, after the resurrection, with spiritual glorified bodies, into His own kingdom to enjoy the life eternal. By means of Paul's doctrine of the death of the Son of God upon the cross, Christianity is completely emancipated from the law, and is thereby also made free from the particularism of Judaism. The sufferings of the Son of God were sufferings for the whole sinful race of mankind, and the fundamental conditions of salvation, which result from His death, faith and the life in the spirit, are claims that may be made of mankind generally. Freedom from the law and universalism are won to Christianity by the death of Christ on the cross.

Like Paul, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews also starts from the idea of Christ, and in essentially the same way as Paul, only more distinctly under the influence of Philo, sees in Christ the Son of God in a metaphysical sense. Without, however, like Paul, entering into the depths of anthropological discussion, he rather remains standing on the Christological height, and turns his eyes upon the one point which was of decided importance to him for the emancipation of Christianity from Judaism. While Christ as the Son of God stands

generally superior to the prophets of the Old Testament, superior to the angels and Moses, superior therefore to the spirit and law of the Old Testament revelation, He also occupies a position superior to the Old Testament sanctuary with its priests and sacrifices. Christ, the man and the Son of God, has been by the divine oath consecrated to an eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek. Through the once offering of His body He has made men free from sin, and with the blood of His offering has entered into the heavenly sanctuary, where, at the right hand of God, He administers His eternal high-priestly office, and keeps open the approach to divine grace for all who, in faith in Him and in confidence in God, draw near, in order to conclude the new spiritual covenant of purity of heart, and to make themselves worthy of the inheritance of the heavenly Jerusalem, which He on His coming again will establish. The earthly sanctuary is only a feeble image of the heavenly, and could not lead to perfection and rest. Only through faith in and confession of the heavenly High Priest can rest be found.

According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, there can be no fellowship between Christianity and Judaism. The sacrificial death of Christ distinguishes Christianity completely from the legal worship of Judaism, and in this way generally from the law, and gives to Christianity its thoroughly universal character.

What the Epistle to the Hebrews only briefly indicates, the elevation of the revelation of the Son of God over the Old Testament revelation, and what Paul, in unremitting contests with Jews and Gentiles, seeks to gain recognition for, the fourth evangelist has expounded to the Jews with philosophic calm from the idea of the Son of God in the life of Jesus. As metaphysical basis for his argumentation that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, he adduces in the frankest possible manner the idea of the Logos systematized by Philo. The Logos, who was God, and from the begin-

ning with God, the Creator of the world and the light of men, who was in the world without being known by it, from whom a ray fell upon God's people, but lightened only a few, has in Jesus become man. As the Logos is the revealed God, Jesus, as the incarnate Logos, is the most immediate revelation of God. The word proceeding from Him is the absolute truth of God, and His acts are the evident manifestations of His divine nature. Salvation is of the Jews, inasmuch as Christ is the end of the Old Testament revelation, and as the God of the Old Covenant in love sent His Son Jesus into the world. But the Jews themselves under the Old Covenant did not reach unto salvation, but belong to the world estranged from God, which has no understanding and no perception of the divine. The world is the kingdom of darkness and death, of lies and of the devil. Into it the Son of God enters as the light and the life, as the truth and eternal blessedness. Even the law given by Moses is tottering before the only-begotten Son, who in the depths of love looks upon God, and has revealed the full truth and grace instead of the law. Christ as the incarnate Logos is the personal truth and the personal universal life. He who lovingly turns to His person, and in the Son sees and loves the Father, is taken out of the sphere of the world, and has the faith which, in spiritual communion with God and Christ, gives the life eternal. All, on the other hand, who abide in the worldly life are unbelievers, who in their estrangement from God pass to death and everlasting destruction. This is the salvation which Christ brings, and also the judgment which He executes upon earth. By the metaphysics of John, it remains still unexplained psychologically, how the one class comes to faith and the other to unbelief. Out of free love for believers, for His own, the ἴδιοι, Christ goes to death, in order by His sin-offering to take from them all sin, and to consecrate them as withdrawn from the world to God, so that His death is a

glorifying of Himself as well as of His Father. He cannot, however, remain under the power of death. In consequence of His divine nature He must rise again, and return to that life with God from which He proceeded, in order to send to His own orphaned ones that spiritual advocate who should lead them into all truth, and make them perfectly ready for everlasting life. By means of John, Christianity has been completely severed from Judaism. With keenest polemics he conducts, on purely metaphysical lines, the apology for Christianity. The revelation of the Logos become man in Jesus has removed the Old Covenant of the law, and given all mankind entrance into the spiritual fellowship of life with God.

Among the more distinguished of the New Testament didactic writers, besides the three already named, a place must be assigned to the author of the Epistle of James. While those just referred to treat of Christianity in its relation to Judaism from the heights of metaphysics, James attaches himself rather to the Wisdom of practical life of the Old Testament didactic writers, and gives a representation which is distinguished from those metaphysical conceptions by very important differences. James does not develop any special Christology, but occupies the standpoint of the common faith of the Church regarding the glorified Christ. Christianity is with him faith in Jesus Christ as the Lord of glory, whose coming again to judgment draws near. Only through this faith in the Messiah, without even bringing forward the death of Jesus in its sacrificial significance for atonement, James separates himself from Judaism. Then again, the law, from which the metaphysicians were turned away in consequence of their idea of Christ, remains, although not according to its ceremonial, but only according to its moral contents, continually in force for Christianity. What ethically constitutes Christians, is the word of truth, which accomplishes the salvation of the soul. The revelation proceeding from Christ

is therefore to be thought of as the true fulfilling of the law, according to which it appears to the Christian no longer as an outward command, but as a law of freedom implanted in the heart. The subjective condition of salvation is the hearty acceptance of the word of truth, or faith in the same as the word of salvation. But faith must approve itself by works. As without faith, no works: so without works, no faith. A faith without works is dead, like a body without the power of life. Man secures righteousness acceptable before God by means of his works, not through faith alone. Faith becomes a reality over against the world, the kingdom of demons, and Satan, and over against men, through love to God and through the royal law of love to our neighbour. The trust in God arising from love proves itself by patience amid all sufferings, which the world inflicts, and by opposition to all temptations and incitements, which proceed from the world, and by the practice of neighbourly love in all the Christian virtues. Every departure from the divine will must be atoned for by humble repentance, and so will find forgiveness with God. Christianity is practical piety, or, in contrast to the earthly, sensual, devilish wisdom, it is the wisdom that cometh from above, as the ethical course of conduct determined in accordance with a true insight into the divine will. The recompense corresponds to human conduct. Sinners who in the life here below are engaged in opposing the will of God, pass at the last judgment at the coming of the Lord into everlasting death; but the righteous enter into the kingdom, into life everlasting.

The Epistle of James is of no small importance as affording historical insight into the Christian consciousness of the primitive Church. Over against Judaism the Church must have endeavoured to secure for itself an independent position. If it was particularly distinguished from Judaism by its faith in the Messiah, the distinction was in general based upon the belief and hope in the risen and glorified Christ, who was to come again, This became yet more prevalent through the

metaphysical idea of Christ which was associated with the historical Christ. By means of it Christianity was raised high above Judaism, and completely separated from it, inasmuch as the law retreated before the ideal fellowship of spirit and grace with the Son and the Father, and lost its validity for Christians. Nevertheless, Christians who had not soared to this Christological height, and maintained rather a historical theocratic notion of the Messiah, must start the question, how far this separation from Judaism is to be carried, whether, if one turns from it by believing in the Messiah, he must also on this account abandon the law of his fathers. The peculiarly deep-rooted regard for the Old Testament revelation, and the knowledge, not less widely spread in the Church, of the place which Christ Himself had assigned to the law, must have led to the decisive answer, that faith in the Messiah is not only reconcilable with the law, but contains in itself, as the realization of all the promises of the Old Covenant, the perfect fulfilment of the law. That this standpoint was powerfully represented in the Church is seen from the synoptic Gospels, from the Pauline Epistles, and pre-eminently from the Epistle of James. In consequence of the general opposition of the Church to Judaism, there arose a schism in the Church itself: some maintaining the validity of the law for Christians, others renouncing it. The feeling which was thereby called forth in the Church must have led to a bitter struggle, as both parties, in the spreading of Christianity even among the Gentiles, called attention to their different standpoints. Those who held by the law made the adoption of the Gentiles into the kingdom dependent upon their being previously received into the fellowship of the law. Those, again, who insisted upon freedom from the law maintained that the Gentiles, equally with the Jews, were justified even without this condition. The Apostle Peter appears as the chief representative of the legal tendency; Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles appears as chief representative of those maintaining freedom from the

law. At the height of the struggle their opposition was embittered by personal animosities. The standpoint of the law was carried out to the extreme of regarding the law, not only as moral law, but even as ceremonial law, as binding upon Christians. In the former milder form it appears in the Epistle of James, but evidently in direct contradiction to Pauline freedom from the law. From this the contradictions become most distinctly apparent in their own nature and in their relation to one another. Inasmuch as it is admitted on both sides that works presuppose faith, but by the one side an independent value is claimed for faith without works, and by the other side no value is allowed to such workless faith, there exists the opposition between the righteousness of faith on the one hand, and the righteousness of works or of the law on the other hand. The opposition which asserted itself very powerfully in the later period of the life of the Church, points back to a different conception of what faith is, and finds its only true solution in the profound religio-psychological view of faith held by Paul, who had not been dominated by the legalistic tendency. In the history of the Church this solution appears in the opposition of law and gospel, where each side of the opposition has assigned to it its relative truth. A false relation between works and faith enters only when an independent value is ascribed to works as such, and to faith as a mere theory. The attempts at reconciliation, which were made even in the primitive Church, as especially the writings of Luke and the Epistles of Peter show, led to no fundamental solution. Owing to the historical condition in which the Church was, the controversy must have been of great importance to it, and must have exercised the minds of its members in the highest degree; but it is not to be supposed that the spiritual movement was entirely spent in this controversy. It has been generally customary to designate this dissension that arose within the Church itself as Petrinism and Paulinism,

Particularism and Universalism, Judæo - Christianity and Gentile-Christianity, and to represent the matter as if the whole spiritual conflict of the Church had centred in this particular controversy. What is thereby overlooked, or at least placed in the background, is the widely extended and prevalent polemical apologetical activity which was laid upon the Church as a necessity, in consequence of its historical position in relation to Judaism. The fact is, that the customary designation of this controversy is not sufficiently precise to prevent misunderstanding. In itself certainly the distinction between Petrinism and Paulinism is quite harmless; but if the legal-Petrine standpoint is characterized as particularistic and Judæo-Christian, and the Pauline standpoint of freedom from the law as universalistic and Gentile Christian, it would lead to the supposition that Petrinism, the legal standpoint, had assumed an attitude thoroughly hostile to the Gentiles and one of exclusiveness in reference to the Gentile races, and had remained standing precisely in Judaism, and that, on the other hand, Paulinism with its freedom from the law had assumed an attitude thoroughly hostile to the Jews, and had entirely freed itself from all Jewish elements. Neither of these representations answers to the historical reality. Primitive Christianity rather, embracing Petrinism and Paulinism, is generally Judæo-Christian, that is, Christianity permeated by common Jewish notions, and with internal distinctions only according to the smaller or greater deviations from the national Judaism.

To the common Judaistic conceptions of the primitive Church belong those of the sacrificial death of Christ and His coming again. That the latter especially was a power in the Church and filled the minds of its members, in spite of occasional dissension and disputes, with a common hope, is evidenced in the most unequivocal manner by the Apocalypse of St. John. In a great picture, full of dramatic life, the writer of the Apocalypse has presented the whole course of

eschatological occurrences, unto which the eyes of the whole Church had been directed, but which had been only incidentally touched upon by the other New Testament writers, or briefly described. In order to produce this picture, the rich magnificence of colouring which ancient prophecy and the Jewish apocalyptic literature afford, was employed. It is characteristic of this apocalyptic writer, that he associates the occurrences in the closest connection with the overthrow of the anti-christian Nero, and generally introduces a more historical course. When the near approaching sacred advent has arrived, the pagan-Romish supremacy and its Emperor Nero will be overthrown, and Satan, who rules over the heathen nations, will be cast bound into the pit. But the end has not yet come. Only now begins a thousand years' earthly reign of the Messiah, in which after the first resurrection all the perfected martyrs will be received, that they may live and reign with Christ. (Chiliasm.) After the expiry of the thousand years, Satan will be let free for a season, but after a short term of power he will be cast, with all the heathen, into eternal torment in the lake of fire.

Now comes the final divine judgment. Death and Hades, and all who are not written in the book of life, are cast into the lake of fire. The world of the first creation is at an end; there are new heavens and earth; a new Jerusalem comes down from heaven to earth. Instead of the temple, the new Jerusalem has the throne of God and of the Lamb, and is lightened by its glory; a river of life flows through the city; and between its golden streets and the river of life shines the tree of life, which bears its fruit every month. Only those who are written in the book of life have entrance into the city: before the throne of God and of the Lamb, they serve God as His servants: enlightened by His light, they see Him face to face, and reign with Him for ever.—The new Jerusalem, which the writer of the Apocalypse sees at the close of his revelation, imprints in bright colours the idea which sprang

up in the sacred poetry of the early Christian Church, the yearning after fuller fellowship with God and His Messiah. The lost paradise of Jewish Wisdom is, according to the Christian Apocalypse, regained in the paradise of the future.

In the spiritual activity which the primitive Church developed for the establishing of its faith outwardly and inwardly, lie the first beginnings of Christian theology. The metaphysical and eschatological mysteries, with which the life of Jesus and primitive Christianity are surrounded, await historical treatment, and find their solution, together with their proper valuation, in dogmatics.

Among the numerous works on biblical theology, besides the older treatises of Zachariä, Hufnagel, Ammon, Bauer, Bretschneider, Kaiser, de Wette, Baumgarten-Crusius, and those already referred to of Hermann Schultz, Ewald, Immer, Pfleiderer, the following are the more important works of recent times:—

D. von Cölln, Biblische Theologie, herausgegeben von Schultz. 2 Bände. Leipzig 1836. W. Vatke, Die Religion des Alten Testaments. 1 Th. Berlin 1835. Bruno Bauer, Die Religion des Alten Testaments. 2 Bände. 1838. J. Chr. F. Steudel, Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments, herausgegeben von Oehler. Berlin 1840. J. L. S. Lutz, Biblische Dogmatik, herausgegeben von Ruetschi. Pforzheim 1847. H. A. C. Hävernick, Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments, herausgegeben von Hahn. Erlangen 1848. 2 Aufl. mit Anmerkungen von H. Schultz. Frankfurt a. M. 1863. Chr. F. Schmid, Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments, herausgegeben von Weizsäcker. 2 Bände. Stuttgart 1853. 3 Aufl. 1864. [English translation: Biblical Theology of the New Testament. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.] G. L. Hahn, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments. 1 Bd. Leipzig 1854. Ch. F. Baur, Vorlesungen über neutestamentliche Theologie. Hamburg 1864.

Bernhard Weiss, Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Berlin 1868. [3 Aufl. Berlin 1880. English translation from third German edition: Biblical Theology of the New Testament. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882, 1883.] J. J. van Oosterzee, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Barmen 1869. [English translation: The Theology of the New Testament. London 1871. 4th ed. 1882.] G. Fr. Oehler, Theologie des Alten Testaments. 2 Bde. Tübingen 1873, 1874. [English translation: Theology of the Old Testament. 2 vols. Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark, 1874.] E. W. Hengstenberg, Christologie des Alten Testaments. 2 Bde. Berlin 1829–1832. 2 Aufl. 3 Bde. 1855–1857. [English translation: Christology of the Old Testament. 4 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1859–1865.] G. Volkmar, Die Religion Jesu. Leipzig 1857. W. Beyschlag, Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments. Berlin 1866. [T. D. Bernard, The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. Bampton Lecture. 3rd edition. London 1873.] C. Wittichen, Die Idee Gottes als des Vaters, die Idee des Menschen, die Idee des Reiches Gottes. (Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie.) Göttingen 1865–1872. W. Weiffenbach, Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu. Leipzig 1873. C. R. Köstlin, Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis. Tübingen 1845. A. Hilgenfeld, Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt. Halle 1849. L. Usteri, Entwickelung des paulinischen Lehrbegriffs. Zürich 1824. 6 Aufl. 1850. R. A. Lipsius, die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre. Leipzig 1853. K. Holsten, Zum Evangelium des Paulus und Petrus. Rostock 1868. [Das Evangelium des Paulus. 1 Th. Berlin 1880. W. J. Irons, Christianity as Taught by St. Paul. Bampton Lecture for 1870. Oxford 1870.] E. K. A. Riehm, Der Lehrbegriff des Hebraerbriefes. Ludwigsburg 1858. W. Schmidt, Der Lehrgehalt des Jacobus-Briefes. Leipzig 1869. J. A. B. Lutterbeck (Roman Catholic), Die Neutesta-

mentlichen Lehrbegriffe. 2 Bde. Mainz 1853. H. Messner, Die Lehre der Apostel und Neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller. Leipzig 1856. [H. Gebhardt, The Doctrine of the Apocalypse. Transl. from the German. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1878. E. Haupt, The First Epistle of John: A Contribution to Biblical Theology. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879.] Of special value for New Testament Theology are the works on the Apostolic Age by Neander [English translation: History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church. London 1844], Schwegler, Lechler, Thiersch, Ritschl, Reuss [English translation: History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age. 2 vols. London 1872], Hausrath [English translation: History of New Testament Times. London. 3 vols. 1878–1883], Schürer [English translation announced: History of New Testament Times. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.—Ph. Schaff, Apostolical Christianity, A.D. 1–100. 2 vols. Edin.: T. & T. Clark, 1882. Pressensé, Early Years of Christianity. 4 vols. London 1879. Vol. I. The Apostolic Age.]

SECOND DIVISION.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

§ 33. INTRODUCTION TO A DIVISION OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE postulate which theology in its first part assumes is the idea of Christianity, which also embraces the whole of the religious content of the Old Testament, in so far as that answers to this idea. As the final result of the historical development of religion, this idea points back to a divine act of revelation, by means of which a new principle of life was created in man, and his chief end in life was determined. The idea of Christianity is the idea of religion which should penetrate the life of all mankind, and lead on to its perfection. When theology has reached this result, it has obtained its own special subject. After it has come to know this in its origin, it is its further task to treat it in its historical development. With Christ, in whom the idea of religion, spiritual and living fellowship with God, was realized in the form of a personal human life penetrated by the Divine Spirit, a historical course begins, in which the Christian idea, consisting in faith in Christ, operates as the new divine principle of life, and, from the most insignificant beginnings, more and more extensively and intensively pervades the world. No limit has been prescribed to the spread of Christianity. As the religion of mankind, it is destined to

break through the pre-Christian national boundaries, and to permeate the life of all races and nations. This great career is represented historically as the Church life. The Church which makes confession of Christ, and in faith in Him has the Christian idea for its living principle, is the organ whereby Christianity gives to itself a historical existence, and, under the conditions and limitations of historical development, unfolds the powers of its indwelling divine life. The end and fulfilment of the development is the kingdom of God, as the whole race of mankind penetrated by the Spirit of God. The gradual growth, which was foretold concerning it by the founder Himself, takes place in the Church. Thus the Church is the historical organ which serves for the realization of the kingdom of God. The various denominations, into which during the course of history the Church has been divided, are all simply members of this organism, and as such are all with more or less precision helping to carry out this idea of the divine kingdom. It is the task of historical theology to follow out in its totality the historical course of the life of the Church, and to reproduce the same in its entire compass according to all the sides and tendencies of its development, and to give a representation of its whole extension from its earliest beginnings down to the present time. Its labours, therefore, are never concluded. While exegetical theology is limited to Holy Scripture and the time of its origin, historical theology is unlimited. Should it conclude at any particular period as the present, the Church life immediately transcends this point, and never-endingly assigns it new tasks.

The standpoint which historical theology has assumed for its treatment of history must be that of the idea. Only from the idea of Christianity can it form a correct judgment, both in regard to the principal phases of the Church life, and also in regard to the question as to how far the Church in its totality, or the particular denominations of the Church, together with their development down to the present, have approached,

or still remain behind, the idea of the kingdom of God. In accordance with its task, historical theology is principally Church history, and embraces just this one branch. It does not seem admissible to distinguish between the history of the Christian Church and the history of Christianity.[1] All the utterances and results, which historically proceed from the Christian faith, belong also to the domain of Church history. If historical theology receives other branches besides Church history, these can only have as their subject special constituent parts of Church history, and can have a separate place assigned them only for the purpose of perfecting in detail the comprehensive picture of Church life which Church history produces.

For the Church of the present, as well as for theology, Church history is of supreme importance. No theory can supply to the government of the Church the lessons which Church history affords it. From Church history it has to learn the wisdom which is indispensable in all the administration of ecclesiastical ordinances, to take counsel about reforms in the ecclesiastical realm, and to appropriate the higher points of view which, over against the ecclesiastical, as the result of controversies and struggles, are to be maintained. To the ministry of the Church the rich material is supplied by Church history, which may be applied not only for the edification, but also for the education of the Church, in awakening an understanding of the nature of the Church, an interest in the tasks of the Church, love and enthusiasm for their own Church, but not less also toleration toward those of another faith. The apologetic service which Church history in a signal manner affords to the Church, is to be regarded as of still higher significance. Nothing can more successfully overturn the objections brought against Christianity and the Church, than the historical statement of the great results in

[1] As Rothe does in his Vorlesungen über Kirchengeschichte, herausgegeben von H. Weingarten. Th. 1, 2. Heidelberg 1875. Th. i. p. 3.

intellectual and moral culture, which in all spheres of human life have been won by the operation of Christianity,—results, over against which the strifes and disturbances, which have indeed entered into the domain of Church life, are not to be laid to the account of Christianity and the Church, but to that of human imperfection and passionateness.

For theology, Church history is of no less importance. Inasmuch as it presents to view all the stages through which the living Christian idea passes in the Church, and all the historical utterances of the life issuing from it, it affords to theology the most valuable insight proceeding from the life into the nature of its subject. The historical experience which, in Church history, theology hands over to Christianity, contributes a solid foundation, from which it can give a representation, both of the Christian consciousness of the present, and of the ideal configuration of the ecclesiastical system. The comprehensive empiricism of Church history is in theology quite indispensable for its two last divisions, for systematic and practical theology. Principally from this theoretical interest which theology has in Church history, and at the same time from the interest of Church history itself in the more thorough treatment of its own subject, there arises the demand for a Church history that will be not only a history of the Church in its totality, but also a representation in separate detail of the principal departments in which the Church life has historically manifested itself. In the course of history certain important departments branch off from Church history, which have the condition of their being in the idea of Christianity itself. These must therefore have a historical development of their own. In consequence of its universal character there belongs to Christianity a never resting impulse toward *expansion*, which, so soon as a Christian community had been formed, must from that time forth continue incessantly active. By means of this universalism and opposition to the life of the world, the community was obliged to give itself,

over against the world and its various nationalities, the outward form which, as a firmly laid *constitution*, secured for the community its united and independent life. But, as a religious community, the Christian, as well as every other religious community, must furnish forms of *worship* for the nurture of its faith and for public devotion, which will answer to what is characteristic of the Christian consciousness of God. Now the more living the faith, the more powerful also are the expressions of will determined by it, by means of which, as the outflow of Christian love, habits are formed after a common type, and a Christian mode of life, a *Christian culture*, understood in the widest sense, is generated. Finally, for its own sake, and in opposition to other religious communions contrasted with it, the Christian community makes the content of its faith the subject of its consideration, and seeks to secure for it an objective expression, which, as the *doctrine of the Church*, assumes always more and more definite forms. In these five functions and manifestations of life—*expansion, constitution, worship, culture*, and *doctrine*—the Christian spirit of the community, from the first beginnings through its entire history down to the present, develops an extraordinary wealth in the construction of separate divisions. While now Church history represents these five great departments of the Church life in its totality, and thereby performs practically all that can be required of historical theology, the interests of theology, as well as the interests of Church history, demand that a separate treatment should be given to each of these five departments. Hence there appear alongside of Church history the branches of *the History of Missions, the History of the Constitution, the History of Worship, the History of Culture*, and *the History of Doctrines*. As supplementary to the last named, may be added *Symbolics* and *Patristics*, and the all-embracing *Ecclesiastical Statistics*. Of these branches, the history of doctrines, symbolics, and patristics are of service principally to systematic theology: the rest are of service chiefly to

practical theology. For the encyclopædic treatment of historical theology, it is enough in Church history to indicate the chief phases of development, in so far as this is requisite for the divisions of theology that follow; while, in regard to the other branches, it is only necessary to point out their scientific tasks and their distribution.

§ 34. CHURCH HISTORY.

Church history, as the history of the Church life, requires for the performance of its task various auxiliary sciences. The more that the indwelling spirit of Christianity becomes, by means of its expansion, a historical power, the more numerous become the points of contact of the Church with the surrounding conditions of life, with the social habits, customs, and culture of the nations among which it has spread, with the constitutions and legal codes of the States in which it finds place. While it actively produces an effect upon these conditions, it also passively relates itself to them, and in its own development and culture is influenced by them in various ways. By reason of this inter-connection, Church history has for its presupposition the general history of the world, the history of law, the history of general literature and culture, the history of art and of philosophy. Particularly in common with general history, it has, as auxiliary sciences, chronology and geography. Since Church history, too, as well as general history, has to obtain its material from sources, it is further in need of a sacred philology, that is, the knowledge of all the languages in which most of its sources were composed. It therefore requires especially a knowledge of Greek and Latin, particularly in their mediæval forms, and the languages of the most important modern cultured races. It demands also a knowledge of diplomatics, that is, the science which treats of original documents, which teaches how to estimate ancient documents and manuscripts according to their age and country, and according to their authenticity, determined by inward and outward marks. Church history must have all these sciences in its service; but above all, since it is itself a branch of theological science, its own exposition must be scientific, if it

is to satisfy the demands made upon it. The need for a historical account of the Church appeared even in the earliest age, so soon as the Church life had been consolidated into one mould. The Acts of the Apostles may be regarded as the beginning of this, and after it through all the centuries every age has given proof of its lively interest in the past of the Church by means of contributions to Church history. For the Church historian of the present these contributions are most valuable sources, but they cannot be regarded as masterpieces of the art of writing Church history. It was by Church historians of modern times that Church history was first raised to the rank of a history treated according to the requirements of science.[1] Church history has to prove its scientific character by making its representation objective, pragmatical, and theological. The objectivity consists in this, that the facts, so far as they can be ascertained from the sources, are reported with historical precision. Generally in this department of Church history it is extraordinarily difficult to attain unto this objectivity. As the Church historian in himself exposed to the danger of allowing his subjective views, be they of an ecclesiastical, dogmatic, or purely individual kind, to colour his conception of the historical, so also in the very sources from which he draws, the facts may have been already tinged with a subjective colouring. Besides philological criticism, by means of which the Church historian acquaints himself with the literary concernments of his sources, he must, therefore, with the greatest circumspection employ historical criticism in order to distinguish the material to be drawn from the sources from all subjective accessories. He must, at the same time, deal with himself in the strictest way, in order to repress any subjective tendencies to which he is prone while engaged in ascertaining the material, and to set forth that which, with the help of criticism, was ascertained as objective in its historical reality.

[1] F. Chr. Baur, Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung. Tübingen 1852.

However, it is not enough simply to enumerate the facts in a chronological method; the exposition to be scientific must be at the same time pragmatic. Pragmatism, however, consists not in a paltry combining of cause and effect, which does not grasp the idea dominating a period and appreciate the geniality of productive spirits, but in comprehending the several facts in the organic connection in which they stand with the collective life of the Church during any one period, and combining them in one clear picture of the Church history of the age. Facts among which no such connection can be shown, which remain detached and isolated, will have no particular value for Church history, and in consequence of the vast accumulation of materials which the Church historian has to reduce to order, it will be most serviceable to have them withdrawn from the history altogether. The further demand that the treatment be theological is intended to secure that the Church historian keeps in view throughout his whole activity the idea latent in his subject, that is, the idea of the Church, and that led by it he treats both the separate periods of the Church life, and also the history of the Church in its totality. Not only, then, will the particular facts be conceived of in relation to the religious spirit of Christianity, but the history as a whole will also lead to a definite result, inasmuch as it must be seen at the end of the whole development whether the idea has reached its realization, or if this has yet to be looked for from the future. Before this ideal treatment the confessional and doctrinal views of the various sects, which are the occasion of no slight difficulties in the composition of Church history, will also disappear. And it is just that *theological* treatment of history, in the sense that has been assigned here to the term, that will place the Church historian in a position to give his exposition that objectivity which is demanded in the writing of general history.

Finally, for the scientific treatment of Church history a special importance should be attached to the distribution

which it makes of its materials, for by means of this principally the perspicuity is attained unto, after which every historical composition must aim. Before a history of the Church life can be commenced, it is necessary to premise an introduction which has again for its presupposition several branches of exegetical theology—Jewish archæology, Jewish history, the history of biblical literature, and especially the theological history of religion, including the life of Jesus. In the introduction the religious condition of Judaism and heathenism, as it was immediately before and after the birth of Christ, is to be characterized, in order that both the significance of Christianity on its entrance into history, and also the rapid spread thereof, and the influences of Judaism and heathenism upon its earlier development, may be acknowledged. These two, then, Judaism and heathenism, are to be set over against the idea of Christianity and the idea of the Church, and for this purpose Christ, as founder of religion and the Church, and the primitive Christian community in respect of its religious conceptions and its outward constitution, are to be described in brief outlines. The idea of the Church is to be defined in accordance with the idea of the kingdom of God founded by Christ, and in accordance with the consciousness of the early Christian Church. Consequently the Church is the communion of believers in Christ, who are called in the faith of Christ to serve for the realization of the kingdom of God upon earth, and to lead all men into spiritual fellowship with God. The many believers in Christ are one body, and indeed the body of Christ, which has as its head Christ, who is identical with the idea, the members of which are, as is shown by the most abundant proofs, governed by one spirit, by the spirit of the head,—a holy temple, in which the Spirit of God dwells, with Christ as its corner-stone, the Church a congregation of the Lord, an *ἐκκλησία κυριακή* (1 Cor. x. 17, xii. 12–20; Eph. i. 22, 23, iv. 5, 12, 15, 16.—1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16;

Eph. ii. 21, 22). Guided by the idea of the Church, the Church historian has to traverse the whole historical domain of the Church, and to make first of all a division of the materials of Church history. The Christian idea, as well as the task of its historical realization, is included in the idea of the Church, and from it are derived the leading subdivisions set forth in the preceding paragraph, in which the Church life is historically manifested. The division is to be determined in accordance with these. If Church history is not to be a chaotic medley, it must give a separate exposition to each of these various historical departments,—the expansion of Christianity, the constitution of the Church, the worship of the Church, Christian culture and Christian doctrine. Nevertheless, while doing so, this must always be kept in view, that these are the outflow and operation of one spirit, and as such should be, at the same time, represented as elements in one organism, mutually supplementing and conditioning one another. This would be impracticable if each separate department were to be described in an unbroken narrative from the beginning down to the present. Hence, in order to make that organic connection of the departments apparent, and to give as perspicuous a picture as possible of the Church life, it is requisite that the material be divided into certain epochs, and be expounded in accordance with the distribution suggested in a circumscribed period. The division in respect of time must be connected with the division of the material. The former is not dependent upon the arbitrary will of the historian, but it is determined partly by this, that the Church institution (*Kirchenthum*) of one period is distinguished from that of another period by some strongly marked peculiarity, partly by this, that in the course of history events occur which are so important that their effects extend into the following period. Thus three great periods are first of all to be distinguished, in which the Church institution is developed in a characteristically varied manner. The first period extends from the founding of the

Church down to the year 800,—Catholicism under the influence of the Jewish and the Græco-Roman spirit. The second period extends from Charlemagne down to the Reformation,—Roman-Germanic Catholicism. The third period extends from the Reformation to the present time,—the opposition of Protestantism and Catholicism. These three periods are subdivided into shorter periods by means of important occurrences. The first period is thus subdivided by the adoption under Constantine of Christianity as the State religion. The second period is subdivided by the attainment on the part of the papal power of its highest development under Pope Innocent III. in 1216. The third period is subdivided by the admission of Protestantism and Catholicism to political equality in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Thus Church history with its three periods falls into six divisions, a division according to time that deserves to be preferred to any other.[1] In each period the material has to be treated according to the division of subjects. This, however, must be done in such a way that the particular departments will be prominent or otherwise according to the importance which they have for that period. The Encyclopædia must confine itself to the characterizing of the three periods according to the points of chief importance in their development.

[1] Karl Hase, Kirchengeschichte. 10 Aufl. Leipzig 1877. P. 4 ff. [English translation from the seventh German edition of 1854: History of the Christian Church. Transl. by Blumenthal and Wing. New York 1855. P. 5. Rabiger's division as to periods is an exact reproduction of that of Hase.]

§ 35. THE THREE PERIODS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

(*a*) *First Period. The Catholicism of the Ancient Time.*

The community founded by Christ, so soon as it had in some measure been consolidated, developed from Jerusalem a stirring missionary activity, which extended from the churches established in the neighbourhood to the farthest regions. The universal Roman world afforded it wide scope, and a field in many ways prepared beforehand, while Judaism in the dispersion presented favourable points of contact. The opposition, on the one hand, of a nationally restricted tendency, and, on the other hand, of one that declared for freedom from the law, existing within the primitive Christian community, was overcome by means of the universalism inherent in the Christian principle; but the general Judaistic form, in which the faith in the Messiah was introduced into the early Church, was also carried down along with its further extension. Christianity, destined as the religion of the spirit and love to be the universal religion, with its hope in the nearness of the kingdom of God, entered into the most uncompromising opposition to the world as the first phase of its world-conquest, and only after a severe struggle could it win its place in the world. The enmity of the Jews against the apostates was soon eclipsed by the hatred of the heathen against the new religion. The political interest, with which the private interest of many citizens coincided, was inevitably directed against those who contested and repudiated belief in the gods sanctioned by the State, openly showed their disregard of the course of life represented by the State with its laws and ordinances, its customs and its culture. Nevertheless, in spite of Jewish persecutions and calumnies,

in spite of Gentile hatred, in spite of the violent imperial laws, and also in spite of the intellectual regeneration of Hellenism by means of Neo-Platonism; Christianity forced its way more and more among all classes of society, so that after two centuries its victory was complete, and the insignificant community had become a spiritual power in the Roman Empire, from which the civil power could no longer withhold its recognition. With the elevation of Christianity to the rank of the State religion by Constantine in the year 323, and with the baptism of the emperor in the year of his death A.D. 337, the struggle was brought to a close, and the wide extension of the Church in a peaceful manner commenced. The same political interest that had led Constantine's predecessors to endeavour to extirpate Christianity, led his successors to extirpate paganism, and to restore to the empire in Christianity a universally recognised form of worship. The reaction which set in in favour of Hellenism under the Emperor Julian the Apostate from 361 to 363, is, in its failure to produce any abiding result, only a proof that even imperial opposition could no longer endanger the stability of Christianity. In the Eastern and Western Empires, during the fifth and sixth centuries, by the application of imperial measures, the last vestige of paganism was destroyed, and Christianity was raised to undivided sway.

Various causes co-operated in bringing the struggle, in a comparatively short time, to this result. What most perfectly affords an explanation of this is to be found, on the one hand, in the nature of Christianity itself, and, on the other hand, in the decay of the heathen national religion. The supernaturalism of Christianity not only offered opposition to the Roman civil power, but also overcame the worldly-mindedness of the heathen people. Even the last extremity, the martyr death which Christians had suffered during the persecutions, appeared to them insignificant in comparison with the sufferings of their example Christ, and in view of the kingdom of

God, the gates of which will open before every martyr. Over an enthusiasm, which regarded the things of the world and life itself as of no account, the civil power with all its engines of compulsion was powerless. The national religion, too, which it endeavoured to justify and support in opposition to Christianity, had no longer any hold upon the hearts of the people. In contrast to the emptiness and unsupported character of heathen unbelief and superstition, Christianity appeared as the divine truth, which compelled respect, as well by the fidelity of its confessors to the one God and Father, even to the despising of death, as by the love which bound Christians together as children of God into one family, the members of which supported and furthered one another amid all tribulations and sufferings by mutual help. In no small measure must the God-estranged mind of paganism have been won to the new faith by the declaration that, through the objective fact of the death of Christ, a universal and eternal reconciliation between God and man was established, and that all who advanced through faith into the fellowship of this death, are certainly made partakers of the kingdom of God, before which all the glories of the world will vanish away. As faith in Christ was originally a free confession, so, during the times before Constantine, Christianity won the hearts and minds of men only by its manifold indications of life, and laid the foundation of an ethical revolution among the various races which were embraced in the Roman Empire. Although in the seventh century it was locally restricted in consequence of the advance of Mohammedanism in the East, it still remained through all time superior to an abstract monotheism, which made its conquest by the power of the sword, which, calculating as it did upon one particular nationality, could never have alongside of Christianity the significance of a religion of universal human culture.

During the struggle with paganism, continued through three centuries, the Christian community was led to give itself an

enduring stability externally by means of inward seclusion. To this end also was directed the impulse inherent in every communion, apart from the condition of any particular age, to have its members bound together in unity, and especially the idea of the kingdom of God, as well as the corresponding attitude assumed by Christianity toward all nationalities and toward the worldly life generally, which by the Christians was regarded and prescribed as a mode of existence doomed to destruction and governed by the principalities of evil. After the separate congregations had constituted themselves according to the model of the Jewish synagogal congregations by the appointment of elders, πρεσβύτεροι or ἐπίσκοποι, and had very soon transferred the supreme government of the congregation to one whose personality was prominent among the elders with the name ἐπίσκοπος as a title of rank, they gradually gathered together into larger associations. Even in the second half of the second century neighbouring congregations met together in the nearest city in a synod for the common management of their affairs, and the consequence of this was that the city bishops obtained a superiority over the bishops of country congregations, the χωρεπίσκοποι. As early as the beginning of the third century the same need led to provincial synods, in which the assembly of the whole of the bishops of the province represented the unity of the provincial Church. The spontaneous result of this was the elevation in rank of the bishops of provincial capitals, who now obtained over against the other city and country bishops of the province, in recognition of their higher position, the title of μητροπολίτεις. In the course of this development, which advanced so naturally and in ever enlarging circles bound the congregations together into a united association, there entered as early as the second century, in accordance with Old Testament precedent, an element which stood in direct contradiction to the Christian idea of the priestly character of all the members of the congregation (1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6), the distinction between clergy

and laity, as the beginning of the complete hierarchy that in consequence appears at the later stage. Thus the ecclesiastical officers as a distinct class were elevated above the general mass of believers, and the ecclesiastical privileges which had hitherto been accorded to Christians generally, the free election of their elders, the right of exhorting in public, participating in the exercise of Church discipline, were gradually appropriated to themselves. Among the clergy themselves, however, the highest rank was accorded to the bishops as the successors of the apostles and vicegerents of Christ. In the synods they exercised the right of making and administering laws for their dioceses by the power of the Holy Spirit which guided them. This distinction between members of the congregation had already been completed when Christianity came to be recognised by Constantine as the State religion. The Church made its appearance in the State as already in respect of constitution divided into great united circles—the Egyptian, the Palestinian, the Syrian, the Greek, and the Roman Churches. The connection which the Church then formed with the State had a far-reaching influence upon its further development. Released from that hostile attitude which it had hitherto assumed toward the State and the worldly mode of life, it was now possible for it to exert an influence in a Christian way upon the institutions of the State, and to engraft Christian culture upon the heathen commonwealth. As the Church of the *orbis romanus*, it now reached the full consciousness of its universal destination, its catholicity, and was furthered in its efforts at wider extension and organization by the help and the protection of the civil power. Besides the regular Metropolitan Synods, there now appear the Œcumenical Synods, which are of decided importance for the building up of the imperial Church. Even at the first Œcumenical Council at Nicæa, in the year 325, certain prerogatives were granted to the bishops of the three most important imperial cities, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, and besides these, at the

second Council at Constantinople, in the year 381, to those of Jerusalem and Constantinople, by means of which they gained a pre-eminence over the Metropolitans of the smaller imperial cities. Since the fifth century, in order to indicate their superior rank, they assumed the title of Patriarchs. Among these, again, the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Rome, in consequence of the political importance of their residences, gained a special prominence. Since that time, however, the freedom of the Church began to be restricted by the imperial authority. The Byzantine Emperors considered themselves, afterwards as well as before, the *pontifices maximi*, who had power alike over the State and over the Church, and made the Church subserve their political designs. The Church, which before Constantine was free, became, as an imperial Church, the Church of the court, and as such was under the despotic rule of the Byzantine Emperor. The longing for ecclesiastical centralization, and the endeavours to free the Church from the Byzantine dominion, led to the contest for ecclesiastical supremacy between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople. The past as well as the present favoured Rome. Certain energetic bishops wrought, under favourable conditions, on behalf of the exaltation of Rome above Constantinople, as Leo I. in the fifth century, Symmachus at the beginning of the sixth century, and Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century. While the Byzantine Patriarch, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Emperor, could not emancipate himself from court influence, the Roman Patriarch, after the overthrow of the Western Empire, amid the political convulsions which Rome underwent from the Ostrogoths, the Vandals, the Visigoths, the Longobards, and the Franks, was able over against the political powers to assume a free attitude. While the Patriarch of Constantinople had his authority restricted by the other Eastern Patriarchs, the authority of the Roman Patriarch was unconditionally acknowledged in Italy, Gaul, and Britain. While the

Eastern Church, by reason of the conquests of Islam, was confined within its own borders, a wide field was opened to the Roman Church, under circumstances that ensured success, among the newly-founded German States. Various circumstances contributed to secure sovereignty to the Roman Patriarch,—the fame of Rome as the capital of the Old World, the authority of the Church of Rome on the ground of its traditional founding by Peter and Paul, the cunning use which the Roman Church made of apostolic traditions, the donative of landed property in Italy made over to the Roman bishops by the Frankish kings, and the coronation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor, at which the Bishop of Rome made his appearance as already in fact Pope, who, as representative of Christ, by consecration invested the civil princes with their highest rights as defenders of the Church. Thus Christianity gained at once its extension and its firmly-articulated organization. At the end of this period, the Bishop of Rome as Pope stands at the head of the Church, the Church as the spiritual State stands over against the earthly States, and although, indeed, the Greek Church refuses to acknowledge this Roman Hegemony, it fails, in consequence of the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire, to exercise any influence, either of a doctrinal or administrative kind, upon the great ecclesiastical development, which from the end of this period begins in the West under the dominion of the Roman Pope.

The bond of the constitution by which Christians within the limits of the State were bound together into a great communion, could receive confirmation and continuance only if the spirit of faith, whereby the Church overcame the world, should continuously retain its living power. Together with the organs of the constitution, the forms of worship were at the same time developed which have bound the members of the Church together in a spiritual communion. While the Church by reason of its constitution, as a community directing its course to heaven, withdrew from the worldly life, it

remained mindful of its task and final end in public devotion and festival celebrations. What is present in the consciousness of the Church expresses itself in its sacred symbolic acts. The centre of its worship is Christ. The celebration of the Redeemer's appearing is the proper preparation for His coming again. By means of common prayer, and united singing, and hearing the gospel preached, the community gave expression to that repentance and regret which is indispensable to secure an entrance into the kingdom of God. The same is expressed in symbolical form by the two holy ordinances, baptism and the Lord's Supper,—baptism in the name of Christ as the earnest of the forgiveness of sins and the laver of regeneration; the Lord's Supper, observed at the close of every meeting for public worship, as the memorial feast pointing to the sacrificial death of the Lord that atones for sin, and as the pledge of the resurrection. Bread and wine, the symbols of the sacrificial death, obtained soon a mysterious significance, and came to be regarded as signs of the immediate presence of Christ brought into supernatural connection with the body and blood of the Lord. By means of the chief occurrences in the life of Christ, common time was consecrated by the community itself, and the year was arranged in a cycle of holy days. The community, consisting of Gentiles and Jews, adapted to its own uses pagan and Jewish festivals, but by connecting them with Christ, elevated their natural or national-historic significance into a purely spiritual, universally human significance. The Christmas festival as the celebration of the birth of the Lord, the Easter festival as the celebration of the death and resurrection of the Lord, the feast of Pentecost as the celebration of His alighting upon the Church through the Holy Spirit, are the principal festivals, around which a multitude of feast days are grouped with some reference to and bearing upon the principal festival. After the persecutions, the anniversaries of the Martyrs were treated by the Church with special consideration. The

martyrs, who had suffered death for Christ's sake, were regarded as patterns of the ideal Christian life. At their graves, for the encouragement of the Church, the day of their death was celebrated as the birthday of their eternal life. By means of visible remnants of Christ and these saints, garments, bones, and such like, the so-called relics, an endeavour was made to strengthen the remembrance of them by associating it with something external, and the religious imagination soon ascribed to them a supernatural, magical influence. After Constantine, when the Church was allowed to perform its devotions publicly, the forms of worship were quickly perfected and surrounded with ever increasing splendour. The congregational worship seems to be divided into that of those on the threshold, the catechumens, and that of the congregation proper and the clergy. The catechumens were excluded from participation in the Lord's Supper, and were required to quit the service before its administration. The congregation stands passive in relation to the clergy. In the exercise of worship the clergy assume the attitude of priests, who alone can perform the holy actions, and, in their priestly character placed in a nearer relationship to God than the ordinary members, are mediators between God and the members of the Church. The recognition of Christianity by the State had a powerful influence upon the construction of places for divine service. Art now enters into the service of Christian worship. Architectural art changed the places of assembly of the citizens, in which previously kings had given forth their judgments, the so-called *Basilicas*, into local churches, or heathen temples into Christian houses of God. Sculpture and painting filled the churches with representations of the saints, who were dear to the Christian community, and raised the grossly sensual worship of relics, which fostered superstition, to the consideration of ideal Christian personalities. As, however, even by the creations of art assistance was given to an injurious worship of images, the zeal of image-breakers,

the so-called *Iconoclasts*, was excited against art productions. Nevertheless, the Empress Irene succeeded, at the Œcumenical Council held at Nicæa in the year 787, in having the worship of images recognised as a constituent part of ecclesiastical orthodoxy.

While by its worship the Church was raised above the worldly life, and was prepared for the approach of the kingdom of God, in its life also it shows its heavenly-mindedness. The first phase of Christian morality is, generally speaking, the contempt of the world. The rule of life under which faith places itself, the law of the spirit and of love, was the source of a Christian virtue and morality, which commanded the respect even of heathenism, enveloped as it was in worldliness, and introduced into the pagan life a truly ethical element of culture. Its deepest foundation lay in the Christian hope which transcends the bounds of the present world and lays hold upon the hereafter, and this has constituted the life of the Christian a life of conflict with a world that is perishing and under demoniacal influences. The holiness which warrants the admission of the individual into the kingdom of God, and the holiness of the Church, by means of which the coming of the kingdom of God is conditioned, must be endangered by intercourse with the world, and only by the most thorough separation from the world does it seem attainable. What the world values and strives after, possessions, riches, enjoyment of life, secular art and science, all these by reason of their transitoriness appear to the Christian not only worthless, but pernicious, since they divert attention from the purely spiritual life, by means of which they should be acquiring for themselves citizenship in the kingdom of God. Out of this manner of viewing the Christian hope and the confidence with which it was entertained, there sprang that enthusiasm and moral heroism with which, during the persecutions, the most exquisite tortures and the most excruciating death were endured, with which the Anchorites and Hermits,

who since the third century had appeared in Egypt and Syria, endured a constant martyrdom of self-denial in their absolute separation from the world. From this mode of viewing things there arose also that discipline strictly administered, at first by the congregation itself, afterwards more particularly by the priesthood, which kept watch against every relapse into the worldly life, and by excommunication excluded the impenitent from the Church, a punishment which was the more terrible as exclusion from the Church meant likewise exclusion from the kingdom of God. In a more highly developed form this tendency appears in Montanism and Novatianism, which held that only saints and spiritual men had a place in the community, and excluded from it every one at all guilty in reference to morals. In spite of the exaggeration and one-sidedness of this ascetical morality of early Christianity, there lies in it a commencement of the idealizing, which the natural sensuous life was to experience under the Spirit of God, which consists not in cursing the world and renouncing the world, but in the transfiguring of the world. When, after Constantine, the Church became more and more involved in politics and its conditions, the new relations soon led to the lowering somewhat of the high-strung demands that had been made of the spiritual life, and in order still rightly to maintain the value of these, to the distinguishing between a lower and a higher ascetical morality. This higher form of ascetical practice perfected itself in the cloister life of the monks. The same endeavour led recluses to form themselves into associations. From the Egyptian hermits, from Antony, Pachomius, and Paul of Thebes, sprang the monkish institutions of the Eastern and the Western Church, where, in the sixth century, by means of Benedict of Nursia, the Order of the Benedictines was founded in accordance with a definite and strict rule of the order. By means of the monkish institution, the moral system of absolute self-denial and renunciation of the world was set forth under the

rules of obedience, chastity, and poverty. Every bond, which binds to the world, must be sundered, in order that the soul may prepare itself for the heavenly life, and render itself worthy of its eternal inheritance.

While Christianity pressed itself forward in ever-increasing circles of heathenism, and after long struggles with the civil power of Rome reached the position of the national Church, the spiritual activity begun in the primitive Church, by which an objective expression was given to the content of the faith, owed its uninterrupted success to the most various causes. In the second century, the Apology in presence of heathenism takes the place of the Apology which the primitive Church had to conduct in presence of Judaism. It took the form of grand systems in the Gnosticism which, in the way of a Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion represented by Philo, from a universal standpoint, blends together the dicta of Oriental philosophy and the ideas of Greek philosophy with Christianity, and as a Christian philosophy of religion seeks to settle the conflict of these different intellectual and spiritual tendencies by showing that absolute truth is contained in the Christian theory of the world. As from the beginning the person of Christ occupied the foreground of the Christian consciousness, a high place was also assigned to it in the Gnostic systems. In the series of the essences proceeding from God, the so-called Æons, which constituted the media of communication between the divine world and the earthly and visible world, Christ comes forward as the particular Æon, who became man in Jesus, assuming, however, as the heavenly being merely the appearance of a human body (*Docetism*). By Gnosticism, however, Christianity was put in danger of losing hold of its historical foundations, and of volatilizing the consciousness of the Church into a superficial idealism. A reaction therefore set in against it on the basis of the oral and written tradition of the apostles. The theological germs already recognisable in the New Testament were gradually

developed into a Church theology, which, represented in the West by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, asserted, over against the fantastic, speculative systems of Gnosticism, historical Christianity from the standpoint of faith in accordance with the historical legal tendency of the primitive Church; while in the East the most distinguished teachers of the Alexandrian Church, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, prosecuted the practical Pauline-Johannean tendency in speculation, and without falling into the fantasticalness of Gnosticism, sought by means of the gnosis to conceive of Christianity in accordance with the historical revelation. The consciousness of the Church gave expression to the essential content of faith in opposition to Gnosticism in numerous *regulæ fidei*, which gradually assumed a permanent form in the *symbolum apostolicum*.[1] Diverse as these are in modes of expression, they are yet all agreed upon fundamental points. They all insist upon faith in the one Almighty God, in His Son Jesus Christ, who appeared as true man and ascended into heaven, and in the Holy Spirit; and they contain important evidence that the mind of the Church had been directed pre-eminently to the exalted Christ and to His coming again to judgment. The differences, however, which prevailed already in the earliest Church communions in regard to the conception of Christ as the Son of God must now be overcome. To a theology which had the refinements of Gnosticism to look back upon, no satisfaction could be given by a Christ who was conceived of in accordance with the Old Testament Messianic idea as a mere man endowed with the Spirit of God, as Son of God in the theocratic sense. The theological and churchly interest directed its attention rather to Christ, the Son of God, in the metaphysical sense, so that in the Church the earlier view, which was that of Ebionism, more and more

[1] Compare A. Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der apostolisch-katholischen Kirche. Breslau 1842. 2 vermehrte Ausgabe von G. L. Hahn. 1877.

fell into the background. It was important, therefore, to determine the relation of the metaphysical Son of God to God the Father, and the relation to both of the Spirit of God operating in the Church. The difficulty of the task also led here to the introduction of diverse views. There was imminent danger of confusing the idea of the one God through the co-ordinating of a Son. The speculative Greek spirit, however, which had found its way into the Church, has to maintain the metaphysical mystery, and to endeavour the removal of the danger. While some saw in Christ a mere divine revelation (*Monarchians*), others regarded Christ as indeed a divine nature, but still, as Son, subordinate to the Father (*Subordinationists*), and, especially in the Alexandrian theology, the idea was brought forward that Christ as the Son of God is of the same substance with the Father. After the Church, as the national Church, had attained unto a consciousness of its catholicity, it thought to be able to give currency to one form of faith for the universal Church, and felt under obligation especially to settle the difference of opinions in reference to the foundation of faith, the person of Christ. For this purpose Œcumenical Councils were now convened, at which, under imperial authority, the bishops of the empire, as representatives of the Church, reached their conclusions under the supposed operation of the Holy Spirit, and rendered valid the doctrines laid down by them, and sanctioned by the civil power, as ecclesiastical ordinances, unto which the faith of the Church was bound. From this time forth we have in the Church the contrast between orthodoxy and heresy. The freedom previously enjoyed in theology was now endangered, partly by the decrees of Councils, partly by the imperial favour or disfavour, and the faith of the Church was placed under the dominion of the episcopate of the State Church. At the first Œcumenical Council at Nicæa (325), the divinity of Christ as the Son witnessed to by the Father, and of the same substance with Him, was established; and at the second Council in

Constantinople (381), the divinity likewise of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father was affirmed; and this doctrine of the Trinity was adopted, as the doctrine of the universal Church, in the second ecclesiastical symbol, the so-called *Symbolum Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum*. After Ebionism and the subordinationism in Arianism, which could not raise itself to the elevation of the speculative idea, had been by this means excluded from the Church, it was necessary next to repel the gnostic-docetic view. If Christ was to be a true redeemer of mankind, He must not merely have adopted the appearance of a human form, but must be a real man. The question therefore was, How are the two natures of Christ, the human and the dogmatically-established divine, to be united with one another? This question, too, in regard to which the *Dyophysites* and the *Monophysites* stand diametrically opposed to each other, was finally resolved, after the most excited ecclesiastical and political conflicts, at the subsequent Œcumenical Councils. At the third Œcumenical Council at Ephesus (431), the doctrine of Nestorius regarding the separation of the two natures in Christ was condemned, so that the Nestorians, being expelled from the Church as Dyophysites, formed themselves into a separate Church communion in Persia under the name of Chaldæan Christians. At the fourth Œcumenical Council at Chalcedon (451), the doctrine of Eutyches regarding the one nature of Christ was condemned, and it was declared to be the doctrine of the Church that in Christ there is a twofold nature, the divine and human, united in one person; and this doctrine was put into a more perfect form at the sixth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople (680), where it was declared that, in regard to the two natures of Christ, the two wills also, the divine and the human, were assumed, and that these were in Christ united in the one actual personality. The consequence was, that the Monophysites in Syria and Mesopotamia separated themselves under the name of Jacobites, and the Monotheletes under the name of Maronites, and con-

stituted themselves a sect apart from the universal Church. From the first this dogma, so soon as it was put forth as an ecclesiastical law, instead of furthering Church union, led rather to a division of the Church. Even at the end of the fifth century the Church doctrine, as it had been previously established at the Councils in regard to Father, Son, and Spirit, was expressed in its perfect form as the doctrine of the Trinity in the Symbolum Pseudo-Athanasianum, and as such had been raised into an absolute condition of salvation.

While in the Eastern Church the metaphysical content of the faith, the idea of God and the Christology, was dogmatically determined, the practical spirit of the Western Church applied itself to the discussion of the anthropological contents of the faith. The question was, whether man himself could do anything toward his salvation by his own powers, or whether he has to look for everything from the divine operation? The relation of human freedom to divine grace was the subject of inquiry. Here, too, the discussion ran off into a contradiction, the contradiction of Pelagianism and Augustinianism. About the beginning of the fifth century the monk Pelagius appeared at Rome, asserting the doctrine of man's free will, which is only assisted by the grace of God. Against him there arose the African bishop Augustine, who denied that man since the fall of Adam had the power of free self-determination toward what is good. Not by his own power could man come into the kingdom of God, and only those who are destined from eternity unto salvation by God's absolute decree can do good, and become heirs of salvation. An attempted compromise, the so-called semi-Pelagianism, was proposed by the monk Cassianus in Gaul. In this first period, however, the conflict did not reach any theological issue, nor did the Church arrive at any œcumenical decision in the matter.

The fundamental idea, which is present through all these doctrinal conflicts of the Church, and which, in spite of all vacillations, had expression given to it involving important

consequences, is the spiritual fellowship with God, which was embodied in the historical Christ, and was to become the property of all mankind. What was present in the eschatological and poetic view of the Church regarding the coming again of Christ, the fellowship of man with God, that was to be elevated into the sphere of actual knowledge, anthropologically, in the doctrine of the determination of the human will by the grace of God, and metaphysically, according to the deepest conviction of the whole Church, in the doctrine of the Son of God with the divine and human natures personally united.

Alongside of the establishment of the doctrine of the Church, there arose in the Eastern and Western Church a richly-developed theology, which with great zeal took part in the ecclesiastical doctrinal conflicts, but has produced essentially nothing which transcends the ecclesiastical ends which it served. In the East the theological speculative tendency of Origen was continued in the Alexandrian school by Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, and others; while in the Antiochean school a rational exegetical tendency more dependent upon history was represented by Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Epiphanius, and others. A spirit quite peculiar is shown in the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, which, composed in the fifth century, by a blending of Neo-Platonic philosophy with the essential contents of Christian doctrine, teach a mysticism which had an important influence upon the later mysticism of the Middle Ages. In the eighth century, John of Damascus in his πηγὴ γνώσεως collected the results of the doctrinal development for the Greek Church. To the doctrine here laid down the Greek Church has unwaveringly adhered, and has therefore assumed to itself the honoured name of the orthodox Church κατ' ἐξοχήν. In the Western Church theological study was pursued in the spirit of the positive faith, and has for its most distinguished repre-

sentatives Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome of Stridon, Rufinus, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Hispalis. In the East theology had exhausted its strength. The Greek Church fell into a lasting stagnation, while the Western Church pre-eminently occupied itself with practical tasks.

In the course of this first period, the Christian community had raised itself from that mean condition in which it made its appearance in Jerusalem, first by means of the Spirit of God bestowed upon it, then under the favour and surveillance of the State, to the rank of a powerful, united, organized national Church, which, by the mediation of a clerical priesthood and a doctrinal code supported by Church and State, offers to act as guide from the sinful world to the kingdom of God.

§ 36. THE THREE PERIODS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

(*b*) *Second Period. The Roman Catholicism of the Middle Ages.*

The form which the Church assumed during the Middle Ages as Roman Catholicism was reared, by a process of historical continuity, on foundations laid in the first period. The bishops of Rome, free from the restricting influence of the Byzantine court, stretched the power which they had already won over the whole West, and especially the nations of German origin, which had sprung up since the beginning of the ninth century. During the time of the migration of races the German tribes had been converted to Christianity, but had been at the same time involved in the doctrinal contests of the Church. Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Longobards were attached to Arianism. As the Church had persecuted the Arians, so the Vandals in Africa under Genseric persecuted, in the spirit of wild fanaticism and with barbaric cruelty, those who professed the doctrine of the Church. The Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Germans under Roman influence were won over to orthodox Christianity. After the overthrow of the empire of the Visigoths in Spain by the Arabs, and of the empire of the Longobards by Charlemagne in the eighth century, the mission of the Roman Church lay in affording a firmer spiritual foundation to the Churches already established, especially those in the great French Empire and in Britain. Charlemagne from religious and political motives readily lent a hand in this, and did not hesitate, as imperial guardian of the Church, to compel the resisting Saxons to embrace Christianity by the power of the sword. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the mission pushed its way on beyond the Normans, ever farther and farther toward the North, to

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, From Scandinavia Christianity was introduced into Iceland and Greenland. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was spread in Finland, Livonia, and Esthonia. From the ninth to the eleventh century the mission was prosecuting its work among the Slavic tribes, the Moravians, Bohemians, Wends, and Poles, as also in Hungary and Transylvania. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the work was carried on in Prussia and Lithuania. Thus the Romish Church extended over a vast region which was inhabited by races which, different as they were from one another, had yet this in common, that all of them as races living in a state of nature were votaries of the religion of nature, although they did not, like the Græco-Roman world, succeed in attaining an intellectual culture from another direction apart from religion. All these German and Slavic tribes would not have been qualified to receive Christianity in its ideal truth as a real ethical power, which from within had to elevate them above the stage of the life of nature. It was rather in accordance with the position of these peoples in respect of culture, that Christianity should come to them as an ecclesiastical institution already firmly established in constitution, worship, discipline, and doctrine, and in the wilderness of their natural-sensuous life make its appearance as the divine law which first of all from without was to give shape to and spiritualize the crude material. In the accomplishment of this task, which had been assigned it from the peculiarity of the converted races, the mediæval Church has furthered its own development, and appropriated to itself more and more the forms which were indispensable for the exercise of its legitimate authority. Of special importance for the maintenance of its power was the change which had gradually taken place in the consciousness of the Church in reference to the hope of the second coming of Christ, which was entertained in early Christian times, and had received very definite expression in the *Symbolum Apostolicum*. The high-strung

expectation, that the exalted Christ would shortly return from heaven to earth, had not been established by history. It had therefore now become customary to transfer to an indefinitely distant future the eschatological incidents, the second coming of Christ, the establishment of the Messianic kingdom, the final judgment of the world. What in the early Christian age had exercised the most direct influence upon the life, passed now more and more into the background of the Christian consciousness, and became the subject of an abstract faith. From the eschatological Christ, attention was turned rather to the Christ exalted and enthroned at God's right hand. The heavenly world to come, the kingdom of the Father and the Son, is the place of absolute perfection, of paradisaical blessedness and glory. Around the Son of God in heaven is the kingdom of the consummation, unto which the whole longing of believers is now directed. Judgment again will be for ever executed in hell. Hell is the place of punishment and eternal tortures, unto believers the most awful subject of horror. Over against heaven and hell stands the earth as the place of incompleteness, of sin and suffering, as the vale of tears through which the Christian wanders, until death conducts him either into heaven or into hell. This sharp antithesis of the future world, heaven and hell, and the present world, the earth, dominates the Christianity of the Middle Ages, but the Church appears as the omnipotent and only mediator between them, and in the exercise of this function principally, it wins the solid foundation of its authority.

From the beginning of this period the endeavours of the Popes were directed toward the confirming of that superiority which they had already gained over the Byzantine Patriarchs and Emperor. The resistance, which even yet the Greek Church offered, led to the bitter animosities, which even in the ninth century were shown by the Patriarch Photius toward Rome, and which, in the eleventh century, by the co-operation of political and doctrinal motives, brought about a complete

rupture. The two Churches from this time set up rival claims to catholicity, and the Popes now endeavoured effectually to make up in the West what they had irretrievably lost in the East. It was of importance that the newly-formed German feudal States and the Churches existing in them should be subjected to the papal jurisdiction, and rendered unconditionally obedient to the Romish curia. This end could not be gained without a struggle. Upon the rude, untamed and sensuous life, to which the people as a whole had abandoned themselves, as well as upon civil legislation, administration of justice and government, the higher and lower clergy by means of their education exercised a powerful and wholesome influence. The consideration which they thus won from the laity was in an eminent degree conducive to the hierarchical tendencies of the Bishop of Rome. The subordination of the bishops in the several States under the Roman bishop caused little difficulty. It was from Rome that Christianity had come to most of these States, so that the provincial Churches were from the beginning in a relation of dependence upon the Pope, which, under cunning management, was very easily converted into a relation of complete subordination. It proved a far more difficult matter to secure the assertion of papal supremacy over the States, and to disengage from civil and worldly influences the clergy, who, in consequence of the feudal relations prevailing in the German States, were deeply involved in political affairs and were in danger of complete secularization, and to render the Church what, according to the opinion of the Pope, it ought to be, a perfectly independent hierarchical State.[1] An important step toward the accomplishment of this task was taken by means of the Canon law. Making use of earlier laws originating in the Eastern Church, the Canon law was arranged in a more systematic form in the ninth century, making its appearance then as a collection of decretals named after

[1] Compare Rothe, Kirchengeschichte, ii. 204 ff.

Isidore, and again, yet more completely in the twelfth century, as the so-called *decretum Gratiani*. The principle from which all particular laws are derived is the sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome. The Canon law has had an incalculable influence in the grounding of this in the practice of the Church, since new claims of the Romish curia were frequently carried through in the form of pretended old decisions.

The Pope who was most powerfully possessed by the idea of the Papacy and of the hierarchical Church, and who was most energetic in realizing his idea, was Gregory VII., who ruled from 1073 to 1085. According to him, the Church as the type of the kingdom of heaven exactly represents the kingdom of God upon earth, and it is the Pope who administers its affairs as the vicegerent of God. As such he has absolute power as well over the kingdoms of the world as over the Church. In the name of God he delivers an infallible decision in regard to things temporal and spiritual. He is not only the chief bishop, belonging to the same order as the other bishops, but the universal bishop, from whom all episcopal power proceeds, and consecration to office must come from him. The States, of human origin and serviceable only for human and earthly interests, have a value merely in so far as they place themselves in the service of the Church. The civil princes, therefore, are subordinate to the vicegerent of God, and receive from him their princely office as defenders of the Church. Any subordination of the Church to the State stands in direct contradiction to the idea of the Church and of the Papacy which governs it. The Church must repudiate every form of dependence on the civil power, and must free itself from the State, if it is to rule over it. To attain for the Church those two positions, freedom and lordship, was the life-work of Gregory, which he pursued with restless consistency. By subjecting the clergy to the rule of celibacy, he freed the clerical order from all ties to the worldly and national life, and raised it out of all these party interests into the

universal region of its destination in the kingdom of God. By means of his struggle against simony, he sought to deprive the State of all influence in the appointment to ecclesiastical offices, and thus, over against the State, to confirm to the spiritual order its ecclesiastical independence. Gregory did not succeed in carrying out completely his idea of forming the Church into a purely theocratic kingdom upon earth, but, as in the conflict against the Hohenstaufen family in regard to the investiture, the Papacy came out victorious, Gregory's idea continued to be for his successors the guiding star of their papistical endeavours. In the Crusades, which began in the year 1095, the opportunity was given them to employ the Christian enthusiasm for the advancement of their authority. Under Innocent III., reigning from 1198 till 1216, the Papacy came to be recognised as the highest decisive, legislative, and judicial authority on earth, to which the earthly rulers, as servants of the kingdom of God, were subjected. Under him, by means of the Spaniard Dominicus, and the Italian Franciscus, the two orders of mendicant friars, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were instituted, which as a spiritual army wrought among the people on behalf of the papal power. These orders in this way gained such an influence that they did not merely perform their monkish vows behind the cloister walls, but took an active share in public life as preachers and spiritual advisers of the people, as inquisitors, as professors at the universities, and as politicians at royal courts. Confederates as they were, they still were dangerous to the papacy. Not seldom did the mendicant friars, by their power over the laity, by their quarrels with other monkish orders, and their dissensions among themselves, notwithstanding all their loyalty to the Church, prejudice the authority of the Church's head. Boniface VIII., who reigned from 1294 till 1303, was the last great Pope who governed in the spirit of Gregory. During the so-called Babylonian captivity of the Popes at Avignon from 1305 till 1377, the

period of the anti-Popes, the authority of the Papacy was endangered, the unity of the Church threatened, the infallibility of the papal government called in question. The schism in the Papacy led to a schism of the hierarchy. For the salvation of the Church the Episcopate felt itself obliged to claim a place superior to the Papacy. At the Councils of the fifteenth century at Pisa, Constance, and Basel, the bishops asserted their episcopal rights in opposition to papal absolutism, and demanded, with a reformation of the Church in its head and members, the subordination of the head under the Episcopate represented in the Council. The opposition of Curialism and Episcopalism was thus brought to a head. The representatives of these two systems reproached one another as the supporters of the deadliest errors. In this both were right, for the one party was as untrue as the other. But there was this in favour of the former—its practical value and the force of historical consistency. Already at the Council of Florence in 1437, adverse to the Papacy, the conclusions of Basel were condemned, and at the end of the period, the papal authority, in spite of the shaking which it suffered for the most part from the personal guilt of the Popes, remained undisputedly superior to the episcopal aristocracy.

In the contest of the bishops of Rome against every State-Church institution, the Church constituted itself an absolute Church-State, in which spiritualities are administered in the same way as temporalities are under an absolute monarchy. The Church is a hierarchy, and its head is the Pope as the vicegerent of God on earth. It alone is in possession of Christian salvation, and has heaven and hell at its disposal. Toward the active Church the laity occupy the purely passive attitude of subjects, and for the salvation of their souls are pointed to the exclusive mediation of the Church. The Christian doctrine which the Church, in accordance with oral and written tradition, sets down as incontestable divine truth,

and has in its keeping, the ordinances sanctioned by the hierarchy, and the utterances of the infallible divine representative, are to be reverenced by the laity as divine laws, to which they have to yield unquestioning obedience, if they are not to forfeit eternal salvation, or to fall under the compulsory power of the Church. In this way had the antichristian elements, which already in the first period made their appearance in the Church constitution, experienced a development, beyond which it was impossible to take another step. The endeavour to become free from the State, and to exalt itself over it, had resulted in securing for the Church an absolute supremacy over the nations, a conception which suited the requirements of the age, and raised to the throne a spiritual power such as was absolutely indispensable for the education of mediæval nationalities.

The constitution attained its full practical significance in worship. The forms of worship were transferred from the first period into the mediæval Church, only it was necessary to modify these in accordance with the idea of the Church now prevailing. The hierarchical Church is the holder of all divine treasures, the administration of which lies in the hands of the priesthood, so that the laity can become partakers thereof only through priestly mediation. Worship consists chiefly in the celebration of the sacraments, which is modified by the idea of the priestly function, while, on the other hand, it contributes to the establishing of that idea, to the confirming and supporting of its divine authority. After a long period of vacillation the number of the sacraments was fixed in the twelfth century at the stated number seven: Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, Marriage. The whole course of human life is placed under the consecration of the sacraments, and by this means under the supreme direction of the Church. Divine grace is bound up with the sacrament, and the dispensation of the sacrament by the priests ordained of God converts its efficacy into an imme-

diately divine efficacy. In the sacrament the Church dispenses the immediate operations of divine grace. The sacramental efficacy is independent of the subjective act of the laity receiving it. It takes place in a miraculous, supernatural-magical manner. When the laity receive the sacrament, it acts as an *opus operatum*. The reconciliation of the Christian with God, which should come about in a spiritual manner, is reduced to an outward operation mediated by the priesthood. The conception of the several sacraments was also thereby affected, as is seen especially in the sacraments of Ordination, the Lord's Supper, and Penance. The superiority of the priests to the laity is now dogmatically fixed. By sacramental consecration the priests receive a divine power, by means of which they are enabled to perform supernatural acts, and obtain a *character indelebilis*, which qualitatively distinguishes them from the laity. In the Lord's Supper the elements, bread and wine, are by priestly consecration converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ (the doctrine of Transubstantiation), the exalted Christ is present in the visible signs, and the Lord's Supper is converted into a sacrifice. In the sacrifice of the Mass Christ is daily offered anew by the priests, and thereby from day to day the sin of the Church is expiated. Instead of being brought into the heart of believers, Christ is brought into the outward elements: the act of reconciliation is reduced to a magical clerical operation. In the sacrament of Penance the Church officiates, by means of auricular confession, sanctioned by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, as director of the Christian conscience, and places the forgiveness of sins, which in God's name it bestows, at the disposal of the priests, and makes it dependent upon the rendering of particular satisfactions, such as almsgiving, prayers, fastings. In this way it was degraded into an outward compact with the Church, in the carrying out of which the priests assumed the gracious office of God Himself, and the laity were only too easily carried away with the thought that by means of satisfactions

it was possible to meet the demands of repentance for sin. Yea, the Church went yet farther, inasmuch as out of the treasury of good works, *thesaurus bonorum operum*, which it dispensed for the benefit of the members of the Church, the surplus good works of Christ and the saints, the *opera supererogatoria*, it made grants to sinners in return for money, or special performances, such as pilgrimages, building of churches, donations to cloisters, etc. Out of this arose the so-called Indulgences, the remission, which was given not only for past sins, but also for possible sins of the future, a system of usury with respect to the religious life, of which also the natural consequence was to set outward acts above inner convictions.

Thus, on the one hand, the worship of the Church community as a whole assumes the aspect of a work-service leading to a work-holiness; while, on the other hand, it bears the appearance of a purely ceremonial exercise of devotion. The sacramental activity of the priest which occupied the foreground of divine service and soon completely overshadowed the preaching, the pomp of celebration with which the mysterious sacred actions were more and more enveloped, besides the expression of the liturgical formulæ in an unknown language, — all this indicated a form of devotion which consisted not in spiritual edification and advancement in the faith, but in an outward display that occupied the fancy, and in intellectual passivity of astonishment at the mysteries dispensed by the priests. It was, in altogether a special manner, fitted to keep constantly in the view of the Christian people the majesty of the Church, representing it as dispensing or withholding divine grace, admitting to heaven or casting down into hell, and thus confirming over their minds the power of the Church.[1] From the piety of the age with this outward tendency, there now arose a worship of the Virgin and the saints that tended always to increase. The further Christ, as the Son of God enthroned in heaven, was with-

[1] Compare Rothe, Kirchengeschichte, ii. 286 ff.

drawn from the consciousness of believers, the more eagerly was the religious need asserted for human mediators, whose life had been marked by evident intercourse with divine powers, whose intercession with God would be availing for all inward and outward needs of the life. The worship of saints was accompanied by a fantastic superstition and faith in miracles, which soon called forth its counterpart, faith in magic, in covenants of men with hellish, Satanic powers, a delusion which was rather confirmed by the Church through its judicial prosecution of witches. The worship of the Virgin and the saints received ecclesiastical sanction by the addition to the holy seasons, which had come down from the practice of the early Church, of days for the Virgin and feast-days for the saints. Among the new festivals an especially hearty recognition was given to the festival of Corpus Christi, corresponding to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the *festum corporis Christi*, not of His Spirit. In harmony with the character of the worship were the ecclesiastical structures in which it was celebrated. Out of the Byzantine-Roman style of ecclesiastical architecture there was developed in the Middle Ages the German, the Gothic, which in the inward construction of the building calculated not upon the edification of the people through the preached word of the gospel, but upon the pomp of the priestly administration of mysteries impressing the fancy and attracting the eye. The structure of their cathedrals as a whole symbolically represented the striving of the members of the Church directed toward heaven. Sculpture, for the most part, devoted itself to ecclesiastical architecture, and decorated the cathedrals with an endless profusion of ornaments, which, with a symbolical meaning, it borrowed from the animal and plant world. More independently, painting wrought at the glorifying of the earthly by means of the heavenly, which it represented preeminently in Madonnas and pictures of saints.

The dominion which the Church exercised over Christian

piety extended in like measure over the whole Christian life.[1] As the State is the sum-total of the merely human, so the Church is, on the other hand, the representative of the divine upon earth. Hence all manifestations of life in the sphere of the State are subject to the supreme control and oversight of the Church, and have to acquiesce in its judicial sentence as final. What is true of public life is true also of the affairs of the individual. Emperor and princes, as well as the humblest peasant, are subject to ecclesiastical laws, and have to render an account of their conduct to the Church. As the form of piety here recognised was not rooted in the heart, so also the moral life was determined, not in accordance with the inward standard of the conscience, but in accordance with the outward standard of the commandment of the Church. Morality was made to consist essentially in obedience to the Church, and is represented as having as such a special worth in the sight of God. That was moral which was regarded as moral by the Church. Responsibility to one's own conscience was so shifted that the Church took the place of conscience. The conscience of the Church discharged the duties of the personal conscience. Christian morality thus assumed the character of Old Testament legalism, and, like that, was determined by the same motives, by the motives of reward and fear. In all ranks the rudest outbursts of sensuality were seen side by side with the profoundest penitence and compunction, which, through longing for heaven and fear of hell, would yield to any humiliation, in order to obtain from the Church forgiveness of sin, or even, unsatisfied with this, would seek to render atonement by self-inflicted penances, a penitential exercise which, in the thirteenth century, assumed in the case of the Flagellants the character of an epidemic. The Church according to its scheme of discipline offered the appropriate remedy for all sins, if sinners penitently sought its help. On the other hand, every act of rebellion against its supre-

[1] Compare the corresponding paragraphs in Rothe's Kirchengeschichte, Bd. ii.

macy was treated as high treason; but, even for the subduing of this, the Church was in possession of an effectual instrument in the anathema and excommunication, the most dreadful weapon in the hands of the hierarchy, so long as faith in it endured. During the period of the Middle Ages, the strict discipline which the Church exercised had, in an eminent degree, a civilising influence, and restrained within the necessary limits the rude primitive impulses of a natural instinct, which tended to the wildest excesses and the most horrible cruelties.

Superior to the vulgar legalistic morality, with a consciousness of higher merit, stood the ascetical life, whether as clerical life, it rendered direct service to the Church, or as monkish life, was devoted to the higher practice of virtue. In the mediæval Church, too, the notion prevalent in the ancient Church was continued, according to which the divine was regarded as the negation of the world, and that was thought to be the highest moral life which withdrew from all contact with the world, and, by fleeing from the world, prepared for heaven. The clergy were, by means of their office, and then especially by the rule of celibacy, put under obligation to withdraw from the concerns of the world. The monks occupied a higher stage, as they of their own free will repudiated all worldly intercourse. These two orders, the clergy and the monks, represent in the Middle Ages the highest forms of life in Christian morality; but even they could not dispense with outward legalistic aids. The life of the clergy was bound in accordance with the prescriptions of the *vita canonica;* that of the monks was determined by the rules of their orders; and thus they were involved in the mechanicalness and formalism of custom. Their mutual interests now led to a closer association of the monkish orders with the Papacy. The importance which the monkish orders had already won among the people could no longer be overlooked by the Popes. When, therefore, they took them

under their protection, they secured a popular power, and when the orders ranked themselves directly under papal authority, they gained for themselves independence of the episcopal jurisdiction, and had their importance in the eyes of the people raised above that of the clergy. For the laity the monkish life was the only way upon which they could earn greater merit in the sight of God and a higher degree in heaven. Hence there was an active and uninterrupted rush into those orders. From the beginning of this second period, cloisters without number were spread over the countries of the West. While they satisfied the religious longings of the age, they also sent all around them influences favourable to civilisation. Among the German races particularly, they performed no slight service on behalf of the cultivation of the people and the land. Experience showed that the monkish institution rested upon the delusion that one could escape the attractions of the world by flight from the world. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the moral wilderness to which, especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the cloisters were reduced, the monkish order did not, any more than that of the clergy, which likewise became secularized, and, especially in consequence of its unspiritual mode of life in regard to the rule of celibacy, was not unfrequently exposed to the reproaches of the laity, sustain in general any loss of consideration and respect. The decay of one led immediately to new foundations, and to the laying down of various rules of orders so as by repeated attempts to carry forward the ascetic life to higher perfection. (Benedictines, Brethren of Clugny, Orders of Camaldoli, of Vallombrosa, Carthusians, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carmelites, Trinitarians, Franciscans, Dominicans, etc.) After the founding of new orders had been forbidden by the Fourth Lateran Council, the ascetical enthusiasm lost its earlier strength. The old orders partly conducted learned studies, partly led a vegetative existence, partly so fell into all conceivable baseness, that the

Councils of the fifteenth century were obliged to insist upon a reform of the cloisters.

Next to the clergy and the monks the order of knighthood took a prominent place in the national life, and was also brought, as well as the monkish institution, into the service of the Church. From the time of its rise, in the ninth century, the Church exercised an ennobling influence upon the rude bravery by which it was characterized, and impressed on it a Christian character by assigning to it the protection of innocence, justice, and the Church. Out of it was developed in the season of its bloom a poetry of noble love and ideal devotion to women, which must have had even on the masses of the people a refining influence. In the Crusades the noble order of Knights of the West provided an army to the Popes for battle against the unbelievers for the conquest of the Holy Land. The enthusiasm which this ideal excited throughout Western Christendom, aroused by that which was external, and directed to that which was external, did not lead to any moral deepening. The Christian heroism of the martyrs was exchanged for the heroism of the knightly Crusaders: but while with the martyrs it was for their faith in Christ as something holy that they faced death, with the Crusaders it was for the possession of the Holy Land that in a fantastic excitement they consecrated their life. The conflict, too, was only a great work which the Church demanded of the age, in the merit of which all who took part in it would claim their share; but under cover of service rendered to the cross, the most revolting acts of violence and cruelty were perpetrated by the heroes of the Papacy. There was of necessity no doubt awakened in the combatant a Christian sentiment, and he was led to form knightly societies, which first of all devoted themselves to the care of the sick, but soon, in addition to the duty of fighting against infidels, adopted the three monastic vows. (Knights of St. John, Knights Templars, and Teutonic Knights.) These spiritual orders of knights, by their far

and high-reaching connections, and by the estimation in which they were held, contributed valuable assistance to the papal power; but after the Crusades they lost their influence, and had to some extent the same fortune as the monkish institution, inasmuch as they set aside their ascetical aims, and fell into luxurious and licentious worldliness. The secular knighthood threw off more and more the ecclesiastical discipline, or else bore it only quite externally, and unbridled valour, without inward moral restraint, degenerated into a mere robber-knighthood.

Christianity in its mediæval-Romish form affected negatively the life of the peoples, whom it dominated, and wrought a moral improvement and purification upon it, without, however, attaining unto any general positive result, or morally remodelling the inner life of the people. The ethical power originally belonging to Christianity, which, working upon the conscience, created a new life, had to keep aloof from a morality which, under the guardianship of the Church, occupied the stage of mere legalism. Hence the very orders which, according to the vocation and resolution of their age, ought to have served as a pattern of the Christian life, the clerical, the monkish, and the knightly orders, did not set themselves against the moral decay; while the lower strata of the people, in spite of all ecclesiastical discipline, gave loose reins to their passions, so that alongside of unconditional obedience to the Church, scenes of the extremest savagery and corruption excite no surprise.[1] In the second half of this period, however, those facts increase by means of which the ecclesiastical absolutism, which had established its authority over the political, social, and moral life, was broken down, and instead was erected that freedom which Christianity demands for the realization of its ethical purposes.

The extreme activity directed to the upbuilding of the practical life of the Church, which became in the Romish

[1] Compare Rothe, Kirchengeschichte, ii. 282 ff.

Church a necessity, owing to the condition in respect of culture of the peoples belonging to it, had for its foundation the doctrinal system formulated by the theology of the first period. The doctrine that came down from it, sanctioned by the authority of revelation and the Councils, was accepted by the hierarchical Church as absolute divine truth, and therefore, of obligation in the practice of the Church, as the divine law, which has unchallengeable authority over believers, and claims from them unconditional subjection. But this impulse of the Christian spirit, which in the ancient Church led to the construction of dogma, now also in the mediæval Church directed itself to the traditional dogma, only with this difference, that, in the former case, there was the freest productivity, while, in the latter case, theological activity was confined to the positive belief of the Church. A somewhat freer mode of treatment was allowed only in reference to the ecclesiastical, yet not rigidly fixed, anthropological dogma, and in reference to the doctrine of the sacraments closely allied thereto. On the other hand, the two principal doctrines, the Trinitarian and Christological, demanded, by the authority with which they were invested, unquestioning acceptance. Hence in general during the mediæval period, there could not be a material development, but only a formal recognition of positive data, and perhaps, in particular instances, a more perfect expression of what had already been present in germ. But the subjective acknowledgment of a dogma, which had been objectively accepted as a standard, might be made in one of two ways, either in the theoretical way of rational dialectic cognition in the interests of science, or in the psychological way of feeling in the interests of the immediate pious consciousness and life. The learned culture, which was the presupposition of this theological activity, was, from the time of Gregory the Great, carried over from Rome into the British Church, and from thence by Charlemagne into France. In his *Schola palatina*, and the cloister seminaries founded under Alcuin's direction,

the scientific requirements of ancient times were conserved, and the branches of study included in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* were further developed, and particular stress was laid upon the study of dialectics, which gave the impress of a special character to mediæval theology. Far in advance of his age in learning and in philosophical spirit, stands Johannes Scotus Erigena, who died at Oxford about the end of the ninth century, just as the mediæval theology was beginning. Combining the Greek philosophy with the mysticism of Dionysius the Areopagite, whose writings he translated, he has in his profound work *De Divisione Naturæ* produced a philosophico-theological system, which, unhampered by the supernatural authority of the positive Christian faith, seeks from a pantheistic idea of God, to give a rational exposition of doctrine, and to set forth the unity of philosophy and theology. The work of Erigena exerted a wide influence on the theology of the succeeding age in regard to the treatment of particular doctrines, and it kept up acquaintance with early mysticism. His standpoint, however, according to which philosophy was made the basis of theology, was so directly in contradiction to the prevailing belief authoritatively given, that it could not be accepted by theology as the standpoint for its regular scientific treatment. Least of all were his contemporaries, on account of their slender culture, qualified to take advantage of his labours. Wholly engrossed in the authorized system of belief, they turned their attention rather to particular doctrines, and specially to such of those as had an immediately practical significance for worship, and endeavoured by dialectical subtilty to prove the truth of the traditional system of doctrine. Thus in the ninth century, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was made the subject of discussion, and as a result of the controversy between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus in the ninth, and then between Lanfranc and Berengar in the eleventh century, the doctrine of Transubstantiation received ecclesiastical sanction, instead of the symbolical conception of the bread

and wine. In the ninth century, too, the anthropological discussion was reawakened, when the monk Gottschalk represented an extreme Augustinianism with the affirmation of a twofold predestination, and Hincmar of Rheims represented semi-Pelagianism. The discussion, however, did not lead to any settlement of the controversy. It rather only promoted "that indeterminateness in doctrinal expression which has since then become more and more prevalent, in accordance with which the name of Augustinian orthodoxy is always assumed, although in reality what is taught is not Augustinian but semi-Pelagian." [1]

At the same time as the Papacy had triumphantly established its divine authority, theology also took a higher flight, and sought on its part to prove scientifically the absolute truth of the Church doctrine. There is only one truth, the positive faith of the Church, and theology is the science thereof. Unsatisfied by belief on mere authority, and impelled by a scientific impulse like the Alexandrian theology of the ancient Church, the scholastic theology has given utterance in comprehensive works to the products of its thinking, and from the time of its origin has proved itself to be the truest confederate and servant of the hierarchical Church. The founder of scholasticism, Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), has in his Monologium given expression to the principle on which it rests in the brief, classical phrase, *credo, ut intelligam.* The *credere,* faith in the doctrine of the Church, is the presupposition; the *intelligere* is its formal aim. Faith and knowledge, revelation and reason, do not here present a contradiction, but only a distinction, which is now removed by the dialectical process of theology, so that faith actually passes over into knowledge. In his Proslogium, he has elaborated an ontological proof of the being of God from the idea of the most perfect substance, and laid the basis of a scientific dogmatic, and in his treatise cur Deus homo, quite in the

[1] Compare Baur, Vorlesungen ueber Dogmengeschichte, ii. 149 f.

spirit of the Church, he has given a rational exposition of the central Christological doctrine of redemption as a legal compact between God and man. It is further characteristic of the scholastic theology, that it subjected to its dialectical treatment, not only particular doctrines, but the whole circle of the dogmatic system of the Church, and took for its leader, as the highest authority in formal thinking, Aristotle, whose writings had become known to Christian theologians for the most part through intercourse with the Arabians in Spain. When all the arguments for and against a doctrine had been brought forth and discussed in accordance with the rules of Aristotelian dialectics, the truth of the doctrine was held to be proved before the tribunal of the highest philosophy. In accordance with this method, especially Petrus Lombardus, in the twelfth century, treated the whole range of ecclesiastical dogmatics in his libri quatuor sententiarum, and his most distinguished successors, in the thirteenth century, were the Franciscan Alexander Hales, the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, and the Franciscan Duns Scotus. The scholastic theology attained unto universal acceptance mainly by this, that from the beginning of the twelfth century it had possession of the University of Paris, which was the most famous seat of learning at that time, and from it its teachers spread all over the West. Moreover, the two great monkish orders of the age, the Dominicans and Franciscans, exercised a great practical influence on the Church life, and they supplied the most distinguished teachers of scholasticism, Thomas and Duns Scotus, who formed sects and made the theology thereof the business of their respective orders. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, the two orders stand opposed to one another as the scholastic sects of Thomists and Scotists. The differences between them, so far as determined by their leaders, consisted mainly in this, that the former professed a modified Augustinianism, while the

latter advocated a decided Pelagianism. Thus the Pelagianizing tendency prevalent at the time found its scientific defence in the order of the Franciscans. By the doctrinal controversies in which the two parties engaged, the overthrow of the scholastic theology itself was promoted. The bold attempt of scholasticism to prove the Church doctrine to be absolute truth, and to raise theology into a science of divinity which has to subordinate to itself all human knowledge, must necessarily be wrecked on account of the inner bondage, under which scholasticism had placed itself, by the distinction which it made between dogma and philosophy. Historically, however, its overthrow was occasioned by the doubt which arose within itself in regard to the legitimacy of its whole procedure, and in consequence of the contradictory theories of knowledge advanced by realism and nominalism, the history of which is coterminous with that of scholasticism. Even Duns Scotus himself, then more decidedly the Franciscans William Occam in the fourteenth century, and Gabriel Biel in the fifteenth century, were the supporters of nominalism, and called in question the objective reality of ideas, on the presupposition of which the procedure of scholasticism fundamentally rested. As nominalists they relegated ideas to the region of mere subjective impressions. The scepticism to which scholasticism had surrendered itself could be overcome only by grasping again the simple faith which it had endeavoured to transcend, and thus, without any result, it reached at last the point from which it started. Scholasticism suffered a loss of prestige especially in consequence of the increasing opposition which, after the style of the old Latin theology of the positive faith resting on authority, saw in the attempt of scholasticism generally an illegitimate endeavour of the human reason, or then, in opposition to its formalism, which was becoming more and more estranged from reality and truth, fell back upon the simple original in Holy Scripture. Beginning early in the twelfth century with the Cistercian

Bernard of Clairvaux, in his conflict with Abelard, the greatest dialectician of his time, who, by the inversion of the scholastic principle laid down by Anselm, fell into heresy, the opposition was continued by Walter St. Victor, John of Salisbury in the twelfth century, by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, by Peter D'Ailly, Gerson, Nicolaus de Clamengis, and Erasmus in the fifteenth century.[1]

A movement which produced an important result, aimed not directly but indirectly against scholasticism, was called forth by mysticism. Repelled by the abstract intellectualism of the scholastic theology the Mystics sought, without putting themselves into a negative position in regard to the speculative tendency of scholasticism, to lay hold upon the object of faith rather by feeling, and in this way to enter into immediate spiritual intercourse with God. In opposition to Abelard, William of Champeaux, who had retired into the chapel of St. Victor in Paris, developed, in the beginning of the twelfth century, a theology which sought to blend scholasticism and mysticism, intellectual knowledge and spiritual faith, and during the following age it afforded a practical counterpoise to the one-sided scholasticism. It gained its most perfect form in the works of Hugo and Richard St. Victor, and had for its chief representatives in the thirteenth century Bonaventura, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a more practical tendency, Eckhart, Tauler, Ruysbroek, Thomas à Kempis. While scholasticism and mysticism in general kept themselves within the range of the positive faith of the Church, and bore the character of churchliness, under cover of the anti-scholastic movement there grew up a peculiar theology, which, from the standpoint of biblical mysticism, assumed a free attitude toward the positive dogma, and did not shun an open conflict with the Church. Among these non-scholastic theologians were Wiclif, Hus, Raymond de Sabunde, John of Goch, John Wessel, John of Wesel, Savonarola. The scien-

[1] Compare § 3 of the present work. [Vol. i. pp. 31–37.]

tific opposition against the Church which made its appearance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had been preceded by another which, growing out of the pious sentiment of the people, lived on through all the centuries of the Middle Ages, and, notwithstanding its extravagances and the impure elements which here and there got mixed up with it, gave evidence that the holy spirit of Christianity was not confined to the hierarchical priestly office, but was regularly, by its religious power, operating upon the hearts of the laity. The most important representatives of this tendency were the Paulicians, the Catharists, the Waldensians, the Albigensians, the Spiritualists, the Beghards and Lollards, the Stedingers, the Brothers and Sisters of the free Spirit, the order of Apostles. Different as they were from one another, they for the most part agreed in this, that they rejected the outward hierarchical Church institution with its doctrines and practices, and, attaching themselves to Holy Scripture and the apostolic age, demanded a pious life in faith and in the Christian activity of good works.

Over all these anti-ecclesiastical movements, however, as well as over the whole course of scientific activity, the hierarchical Church stood in the enjoyment of absolute supremacy. While it firmly held all scientific movements within the limits of the Church doctrine, and at its synods condemned every doctrine contrary to the orthodox faith, it manifested its strictly consistent character as a Church of legalized dogmatism, when it treated direct rejection of its teaching as ecclesiastical high treason, and exterminated by fire and sword the traitors who refused to recant. Against impenitent sinners the anathema and excommunication were thundered: for the extermination of heretics Innocent III. instituted the Inquisition, and the State, which as the protecting power compelled obedience to the Church, was called in to execute the ecclesiastical death sentence.

During the Middle Ages, the Church of the West, under the

dominion of the Popes, gained a position of great outward glory as a theocratic kingdom, not, however, as a theocracy in the spirit of Christianity, but in the spirit of the Old Testament. In contradiction to the Christian idea, the form of the State was imposed upon the Church, the form of the law upon Christianity. The hierarchical Church had its historical mission in respect of the Middle Ages, but at the close of the period an end was put to its dominion. The overthrow of the papal government, the division in the bosom of the hierarchy itself, the decline in the reputation of the Papacy, notwithstanding its externally restored authority, the demand for reform in head and members raised within the Church itself, the disintegration of the theology of the Church, the anti-ecclesiastical movements issuing from science and from common life, the anti-papal demonstrations of particular national Churches, the intensified national and political self-consciousness, the rise of free civil corporations, the reluctance of nations to pay the papal dues, the popular hatred of inquisitional tribunals, the taste for art and the scientific spirit awakened by the newly revived study of classical literature and ancient philosophy,—all these facts show that the Papal Church had outlived its vigour, and under the altered circumstances must make way for a new construction of the Church.

§ 37. CHURCH HISTORY.

(c) *Third Period. Protestantism and Catholicism.*

The facts that have been referred to caused a movement in favour of the Reformation, but they did not call it forth, nor did they lead to its accomplishment. The occasion and justification of the Reformation are to be found in the nature of Roman Catholicism; its success was the result of the Christian truth which it maintained in its conflict with Rome. Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages a reaction had been setting in, but owing partly to its own peculiar form, partly to the power of the hierarchy, it was prevented from attaining any historical importance. It was only when all real life had ceased in the Romish Church, and the fulness of the times had thus come again, that men endued with the spirit of Christian prophecy were found who scrupled not, upon the lines historically prepared, to advance against and shake to its very foundations the proud structure of the Church of Rome. The Reformers directed their attacks, not against the ecclesiastically sanctioned doctrine of antiquity which was professed by the Romish Church, but against the whole Christian life and practices which characterized the Church of the Papacy. Above all, their Christian conscience had been profoundly impressed in regard to the secularization of the Church and the consequent perversion of Christianity into law. In the consciousness of their Christian freedom resulting from this impression they protested against the violence done to conscience by the Papal Church, and over against the law they set up the gospel. If Christianity had originally overcome Judaistic legalism, it would have thereby also gained the victory over the Papacy. The contradiction broke

out first of all at the point at which most clearly the principle of the Romish Church came into view. Luther in Germany, and Zwingli in Switzerland, began their conflict against the Church with a condemnation of indulgences, by which the reconciliation of the Christian with God had been converted into a matter of commerce, and demanded, in opposition to any such mere external reconciliation effected by the performance of something prescribed by the Church, the reconciliation effected according to the gospel in the heart of the Christian. The more formally, the more externally and superficially the Church dealt with the needs of the religious life, the deeper must be the wounds inflicted upon the Christian conscience. From the liveliest consciousness of sin and the deep feeling of the need of redemption the Reformation took its origin, and sought with the rejection of all meritoriousness of human actions to reach rest and peace in faith in the grace of God, which, on the ground of Christ's merit, forgives man's sin. This *fides salvifica*, this saving faith, it opposes to the faith of the Romish Church, as its so-called *material principle*. Guided by it, Luther, who already apprehended the true and proper seat of the evil, the fundamental doctrine on which the ecclesiastical system rested, the doctrine of the sacraments, showed up and lashed the papal tyranny, which with its laws held the Christian life in Babylonian captivity. In the faith, however, was also implied Christian freedom, the idea of the free Christian man, who by reason of his kingship prevails over all things, and by reason of his priesthood prevails with God. All believers have priestly rank and free access to God. The ecclesiastical priesthood, which arrogates to itself mediation between God and the Christian, has no place in the faith. The one Mediator and Priest is Christ, and the faith, which bears Christ into the heart, is immediately certain of the divine grace and reconciliation with God. But faith is of divine origin, inasmuch as it has its ground in the word of God, and recognises no higher

authority than God's word. Hence the second principle, which the Reformation joined with the principle of faith, its so-called *formal* principle, was the principle of Scripture. Its negative side was principally turned against the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In his address to the Christian nobility of the German nation, with a decision at once patriotic and religious, Luther proved that the distinction between the clergy, as a separate spiritual order, and the order of the laity was thoroughly unscriptural, and likewise, on the basis of Scripture, he explained the divine authority which the Papacy assumed as the highest power in the Church, and superior to the State, as a merely human assumption. All authority, which the hierarchical Church attributed to the Papacy, is by the Reformation referred to Holy Scripture. Not the papal decrees, not the papal exposition of the Scripture, not the findings of papal Councils, constitute a rule of faith, but Holy Scripture alone can determine what is Christian. The Christian must submit himself to the revelation which it contains, and Scripture exposition is not a papal privilege, but is the right of every believer who seeks truth and salvation in the Scriptures. "It is base and unreasonable servility," says Luther, "for a Christian man, who is therefore free, to be subject to other traditions than those that are heavenly and divine."

By means of the two principles of the Reformation, the Romish priesthood and the Romish hierarchy, that is, the Romish idea of the Church, was as a whole overturned. The Church is not the hierarchy, and is not to be distinguished into clerical and lay, but it embraces the whole community, as the priestly people of God, according to its idea the fellowship of believers scattered throughout the whole world, all of them occupying a position of equality before God. With the faith which the Reformation insisted upon, although in respect of its content it was not altogether free from a Judaistic-dogmatic element, the Reformation nevertheless returned essentially to the idea of Christianity,

and made the acknowledgment that Christianity, while it originally entered into history as a new principle of life, must also continue as such in history. From this point of view it justified its negative attitude toward Romish ecclesiasticism, when it distinguished between idea and manifestation, between the invisible and the visible Church. The Romish Church regarded itself, in the reality of its manifestation, as the perfect realization of the kingdom of God on earth; but the visible Church, says the Reformation, is always only an imperfect expression of the invisible, and the merely historical instrument whereby the idea of the Church is carried on to its accomplishment. While the Romish Church says of itself: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus;* the Reformation says: *extra Christum nulla salus;* the external churchly form is no condition of salvation, yea, it must be overthrown if it bars the way to salvation in Christ. The Church of the Reformation was therefore, according to its principles, under obligation to exercise continually a criticism on itself, in order to realize more and more its ideal task.

The rapid spread of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland constituted its historical justification. If, however, the Reformed ideas were to lead to a reconstruction of the Church, the Christian doctrine would have to be set forth on the ground of well-established principles. This was necessary in order that the Christian people should be emancipated from the rejected ecclesiastical system and made ripe for the new, and also in order that the departure from the existing Church might be justified before the civil power, the defender of the Church, and that, where it was possible, the civil power itself should be won over to the new doctrine. Thus did the Reformed Christian confessions originate, by means of which the beginning was made of a many-sided doctrinal development and an incessant theological activity. For the instruction of the people, Luther composed his two catechisms; for the Emperor and nation, Melanchthon composed

the Augsburg Confession and its Apology; and Luther composed the Articles of Schmalkald. All of these taken together are regarded by Lutherans in and beyond Germany as the exposition of their faith. In the various countries in which the Swiss Reformation prevailed, no general acknowledgment of any one confession was arrived at. The different countries rather produced their separate confessions. Hence we have the Swiss Confessions, the French, the Dutch, the English, the Scotch, the Hungarian, and the German-Reformed in the Heidelberg Catechism. The drawing up of these symbols, by means of which the separation from the Romish Church was completed, was not done in any narrow sectarian spirit, as though the object only was to secure a denominational existence for the newly-constructed Church alongside of the Church of Rome, but the consciousness of the Reformation movement was rather a Catholic one. The opposition was only directed against the Antichrist in the Romish Church, not against the Catholic Church generally. After the removal from it of all the impure elements by which, in the Romish Church, it had been disfigured, the Reformed Church should only be the restoration and continuation of the old Catholic Church. Not only political, but especially churchly, motives led the Reformers to recognise the Church doctrine of the first seven centuries, as laid down in the Œcumenical Symbols, and in this way to prove their connection with the old Catholic Church. They would by no means acknowledge any departure from its principles; for they did not receive the œcumenical doctrine on the authority of ecclesiastical tradition, but were guided by the conviction that it has its divine warrant in Holy Scripture. The Protestant symbols, therefore, agree essentially in their Trinitarian and Christological doctrine with the ancient and the Romish Church. The doctrinal development in which they take a course peculiar to themselves is rather in the domain of anthropology. In this department they have their

negative significance in reference to the Romish Church, and their positive significance in reference to their own Church.[1] Against the Pelagianizing tendency of the Romish Church, by which the trust in works prevailing in it was favoured, the German and Swiss Reformation returned to Augustinianism, in the doctrine of original sin, and the relation of divine grace to human freedom. Nevertheless in the statement of this doctrine, although both contested the Romish positions by the same principles, wide diversities appeared among themselves. The Lutherans were led by purely religious motives and adopted a modified Augustinianism; the two sacraments of Scripture, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, were maintained as means of grace, and their efficacy was made dependent on faith, but was not altogether freed from the magical conception of the Romish Church. In the construction of the Reformed system a theoretical interest beside the religious was introduced even by Zwingli, but yet more fully by Calvin. From the idea of God, Augustinianism was carried to its furthest consequences, to the absolute divine predestination, either to salvation or to condemnation, and the certainty of salvation was placed in the actual possession of faith. Consequently, both in the Zwinglian and in the Calvinistic conception of the sacraments, only a symbolical significance was allowed to them. Here, then, already the principle of Scripture recognised by both sides, shows itself insufficient for the establishment of doctrine. While this was not able to prevent a doctrinal difference, the differences which sprang up were not healed by the word of Scripture. Thus, although Lutherans and Reformed acknowledged in the œcumenical dogmas ecclesiastical authority, and consequently, also, accorded to the views set forth in them the same binding obligation, the result now, notwithstanding the principles they had in common, in consequence of which the Christian idea had been raised again into a living element in the

[1] Compare Confessio Augustana.

Church, was the division of the Church over a question of doctrine.

After the Lutheran and Reformed Churches had defined their positions, and indicated their differences by their symbols, both Churches were disturbed within their own borders by those same differences which had brought about the separation. The subjectivity delivered from ecclesiastical constraint, and claiming the right of Christian freedom, refused again to be bound down to an objective dogmatic law, and Holy Scripture did not prove itself to be such an objective rule, that different doctrinal convictions could not find in it the ground of their establishment. The young Lutheran Church especially was agitated by various controversies, for the most part of an anthropological nature, which were concentrated in the opposition of strict Lutheranism and Philippism. In the Reformed Church an opposition was raised against its fundamental doctrine, against the Calvinistic theory of predestination, and led in the Netherlands, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, to the Arminian schism. Besides these there appeared the Anabaptists, who in their subjectivity went so far as really to regard themselves superior to Holy Scripture, and to subordinate its doctrines to immediate divine illumination. They were followed in 1555 by the Socinians or Unitarians, who subjected to criticism even the œcumenical dogmas, the Trinitarian and the Christological, and by their rationalizing treatment of Scripture called in question its normative significance. In opposition to all these subjective endeavours, by which the new Churches were threatened from within and without, it was seen to be necessary to emphasize the objectivity of Holy Scripture, and to insist upon the strict adoption of the established doctrines of the Church. Thus in the Lutheran Church, in the year 1577, in the monastery of Berg at Magdeburg, the so-called Form of Concord was produced, which was directed not so much against the Romish Church as against the subjective

views of doctrine in their own Church, and against the Calvinistic doctrine. So, too, in the Reformed Church, the Calvinistic system was maintained against the Arminians or Remonstrants in the year 1618, by the Decrees of the Synod of Dort. By means of these two symbols, the ecclesiastical doctrinal system of the two confessions was clearly defined. In them the principle of Scripture in its rigid objectivity is insisted on, and, in order to make a departure from Scripture impossible, in both cases a normative significance similar to that of Scripture is assigned to the symbolical books. In doing so they were not disturbed by the thought, that just by the difference of the two Churches, which equally appealed to Holy Scripture, its normative significance was shaken. Even for the Protestantism of this time, there was no other objective authority on which it could support itself. In order, over against the Romish Church, not to lose all firm ground and foundation, and in order firmly to establish its doctrine, the word of Scripture must be maintained, and must be preserved against subjective treatment by definite exposition. The theology of the two confessions attached itself to the Form of Concord and to the Decrees of the Synod of Dort, and began to work upon the systematic elaboration of the Church doctrine. The Protestant theology which prevailed in the seventeenth century was orthodox-Lutheran and orthodox-Calvinistic scholasticism, related, in respect of its one-sided doctrinal character, to that of the Middle Ages. By it the authority of Scripture was made to rest upon a theory of divine inspiration, most rigidly conceived in respect of contents and form, and the acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Church, which rests upon this Scripture foundation, was raised into a condition of salvation. After a century had passed, Protestantism had thus fallen away from the spirit of the Reformation. The saving word of Scripture was regarded as a theological test word, and simple living faith was exchanged for the confession of a dogmatic system.

While the Reformation was securing ecclesiastical consolidation, the Romish Church could not remain inactive. From within its own borders a loud cry for reform was raised, but a reformation from the bottom, undertaken and carried on without its consent, must by all means be resisted. The papal anti-Reformation began with the *concilium Tridentinum* called by Paul III., in the year 1545, and with the Order of Jesuits instituted by the same Pope in the year 1540. The Papal Church believed that the danger of being overpowered by the Reformation could be averted only by its bringing forth against it in new armour its mediæval Church system. In opposition to the Reformed doctrines, it laid down at the Council, for the first time in a collected form, its system of belief, and made it the foundation of the hierarchical Church, whose power is concentrated in the papal authority. The doctrine, as laid down in the Decrees of the Council, in the *professio fidei Tridentinæ* and in the *catechismus romanus*, has, down to the present day, unchallengeable validity as Church law, and the Pope, universally acknowledged as infallible, is its supreme defender. Since that time, the Jesuits have devoted themselves to the interests of this Papal Church, and, with their hierarchical organization borrowed from the Church itself, they have exerted all their powers for the extirpation of the heresy of Church reform. By means of the mediæval scholastic theology revived by them, and by means of that secular scholarship which they had acquired in order to obtain control over the higher and the primary schools, they have for two centuries dominated the whole realm of Roman Catholic life, and with these intellectual weapons, as well as by political intrigue, they have waged war with Protestantism. In the three Churches we find now three theological systems, agreed in this, that they made the very existence of the Church dependent on the legal validity of doctrine, agreed also in the assertion of the infallibility of their principles, and even in the grounding of these principles, inasmuch as the Lutheran and

Reformed Churches rest the infallibility of their principle of Scripture, just as the Roman Catholics do that of their papal principle, upon divine inspiration. But just out of this formal agreement arose the keenness of the material disagreement, which found expression in the controversial theology, the *theologia polemica*, in which the theologians of the three Churches contended for their doctrine and ecclesiastical system, in the second half of the sixteenth, and during the seventeenth century. By means of this conflict, Christian doctrine gained an extraordinarily rich development, but, in consequence of confusion as to the standpoint around which the conflict was carried on, no agreement could be reached, and in consequence of the false opposition of principles, it could lead to no scientific result. The infallibility of the Papacy had been already disproved by history; the infallibility of Scripture had been disproved by the divergence of the two Churches that had made it their support. In the Romish Church itself Christian piety was moving in a reforming direction against the external scholasticism of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, although Jansenism gained a footing in Port Royal, and a communion was formed separate from Rome with an archbishop at Utrecht in the Netherlands, this reformatory movement, overmastered by the power of the Jesuits in the Church, was not able to secure any lasting influence over the constitution of the Romish Church. On the other hand, in the Protestant Church, the deep religious tendencies of the spirit of the Reformation itself occasioned a reaction against a theological scholasticism, which in its polemical zeal lost itself in the service of the letter and of dogma, and had neither taste for, nor appreciation of, the obligations of the religious life of Christian society. As in the case of the opposition to mediæval scholasticism, so also now again, the reaction was carried out by mysticism. Mystical tendencies were represented, toward the end of the sixteenth century, by Schwenckfeld and the Swiss physician Theophrastus Paracelsus,

and during the seventeenth century by Valentin Weigel and Jacob Böhme, and subsequently by Arndt, Heinrich Müller, and Johann Val. Andreæ. Weigel and Böhme developed a theoretical mysticism in the form of a theosophy; Arndt, Müller, and Andreæ developed a practical mysticism as a spiritual Christianity in opposition to the torpidity of doctrinal formularies. This practical mysticism obtained a lasting influence over the whole domain of Lutheran Church life by means of the Pietism inspired by it, which, at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, had as its chief representatives Philip Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke, and was, by Ludwig von Zinzendorf from the year 1727, constituted a separate sect as Moravianism. The theosophical mysticism, again, was from the year 1743 adopted by the Swedish naturalist Emanuel Swedenborg, and made the foundation of the Church of the New Jerusalem. Similar phenomena to those in the Lutheran Church made their appearance in the Reformed Church of England in opposition to a rigid dogmatic ecclesiasticism. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Society of Quakers or Friends of Light was founded by the shoemaker George Fox, and about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the denomination of Methodists, allied to the German Pietists, was founded by John Wesley.

Those various movements directed against the objective-positive Christianity were less hurtful to it, because they either rested upon so one-sided and narrow a subjectivism that they could never become a power in the life of men generally, or continued in essential agreement with the Church occupying the same standpoint of revealed Christianity. More severe was the attack directed against it by the philosophy which, since the Reformation, had been diligently prosecuted. The old antithesis of faith and knowledge, revelation and reason, comes now more and more into the foreground of the philosophical consciousness. Called forth by the empirical

philosophy of Bacon of Verulam, the English Deism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sets the independent human reason, not only over against the objectivity of the Church doctrine and of Holy Scripture, but also over against Christianity generally, and seeks its satisfaction in a merely natural, ethically effective religion, or even rids itself of all religion. To this extreme result the empirical philosophy of the understanding attained in France, where it degenerated into pure materialism and atheism. Even in Germany such negative tendencies asserted themselves, but the conflict, that was here entered on with profound scientific earnestness, was very soon enlisted on behalf of Christianity. From the time of Descartes, Protestant theology could no longer retire for defence behind the barriers of an ecclesiastical system. The Protestant doctrine and the principles upon which it rests were swept away before the stream of philosophical, historical, and philological research, and theology found itself obliged to reconstruct its system under the influence of the general scientific movement. The development ran on in the stirring conflict inspired by the spirit of the Reformation, through which, in the various stages of its course, the orthodox, rationalistic, supernaturalistic, Schleiermacherian, and speculative theology had to pass. The conflict has made a most profound impression on the nature of Protestanism, and has left two enduring results in Church history. Theology, freed from untenable authorities, attained to the independence of a theological science, and the Church system, delivered from a dogmatism foreign to it, already repudiated by repeated protests, was raised by means of the union of the two Protestant confessions to the higher form of the Evangelical Church. In both cases, we have simply the historical fulfilment of that which was implied in the Protestant principles. Hence the conflict between opposites did not result, as opponents expected, in the overthrow, but in the establishment of Protestantism. Protestant theology as

the science of the Christian religion serves, but in no slavish spirit, the Evangelical Church, and represents the religious truth, of which the Church makes confession, in the closest connection with the progress of society in general scientific culture.

After the removal of the Jesuits, the theology of the Romish Church entered on a more liberal course. As noble opponents exert an ennobling influence on those they oppose, so Protestantism had influenced Catholicism. Under the influence of Protestant philosophy and theology, Catholic theology took a higher scientific flight, and sought to surround the Catholic Church system with the glory of a pure idealism. This idealistic tendency, however, was driven back, so soon as the Jesuits had been restored in 1814 by Pius VII. Since that time the Jesuits, true to their original anti-Protestant spirit, have withdrawn Catholic theology from all Protestant influences, and have again turned it back into the course of the strictly hierarchical system. At their instigation, for the protection of its immutability, the papal infallibility has been raised to the rank of a Church article of faith, and thus too Catholic theology has been reduced to the position of the serving-maid of the Papacy. Absolute authority has ever since, in Catholic doctrine and Catholic morals, been given to the Pope. As by the dogma he is himself bound to the ecclesiastical past, he has, with absolute sovereign power, to maintain the mediæval Church system as laid down in the Tridentine Decrees. With yet greater presumption, this rigid mediæval Church system is thrust upon the present. Under the constant assumption that the Papal Church alone is the Church, and alone represents Christianity and Church, the whole scientific advance made by the Reformation is placed under the papal ban. The starting-point for the general history of the Church is, on the side of Romanism, papal absolutism in the service of tradition and legal doctrine; on the side of Protestantism,

it is the free theological service of the gospel and the Christian spirit.[1]

The inner or spiritual reform carried out in the Romish Church led to a breach with the outer organization which the Church, during its historical course, had maintained.

The Reformation rejected the domination of the State over the Church which characterized the first period, as well as the domination of the Church over the State which characterized Roman Catholicism, and, in place of this, sought to set up an independent Church system. Under their actual historical conditions, it was a most praiseworthy act on the part of the Reformers to lay down, from the very idea of the Church, the doctrine of the Church's inward and outward freedom, and its consequent relation to the State. From the Church itself, and also from the State, all hierarchical power must be withdrawn, but also all encroachment on the Church by the State must be resisted. The Church, delivered from the hierarchical power, stands toward the State in a relation, neither of super-ordination, nor of subordination, but in that of mutual recognition. These two, Church and State, have different spheres of action; the one the spiritual, the other the temporal. This distinction, however, does not place them in opposition to one another, but both are gifts of God to man, and have to be respected as ordinances of God. They ought, therefore, not to encroach upon the separate spheres of each other's activity, but the State should afford free scope to the Church in its spiritual sphere, and the Church within the State should observe all civil ordinances, and render obedience to its laws. These fundamental principles of organization, which the Reformation has given expression to in its Confessions,[2] embrace all the conditions required in order that the Reformed Church might construct for itself a united and independent ecclesiastical system. But partly the circum-

[1] Compare § 4–6 and 16–19. [Vol. i. pp. 38–157, and pp. 205–296.]
[2] Compare Confessio Augustana, xvi. and P. II. art. vii.

stances of the age, partly the division of the young Church into a Lutheran and a Reformed communion, partly the tendency of the Reformation to attend preponderatingly to the inner elaboration of the Church life, prevented the carrying out of such an external organization of the Protestant Church system. A longer battle had to be fought before Protestantism would be wholly freed from the hierarchical dominion, and be recognised in its independence of the ancient Church and of the civil power. First the Thirty Years' War led, in the Westphalian Peace, to a lasting decision guaranteed by the political powers, by which the freedom of the Protestant Church, in respect of its doctrine and worship, was secured. The period of this struggle was in a high degree unfavourable to the construction of an ecclesiastical constitution. For protection against the Romish Church, Protestantism was under obligation to the civil power. Especially in Germany, the princes who had adopted Protestant doctrines were also the natural defenders of the Church. It was thereby certainly preserved from outward injury, but, at the same time, it was dragged into the organism of the State. The constitutions of the States, in which the Lutheran Church spread, were throughout quite adverse to the development of an ecclesiastical constitution to be constructed in accordance with the Reformation principle. The constitution of a State under an absolute monarchy could not suffer alongside of it an independent constitution for an ecclesiastical communion. And now, instead of Lutherans and Reformed, in view of their common principle and their common danger from the side of Rome, asserting their agreement in the elaboration of a Church constitution, and coming to a mutual understanding in regard to their various differences, they added outward separation to their already existing inward division. Thus they lost outward ecclesiastical unity, each going its own way, not only forming two great divisions, but each of these again, falling into smaller divisions. The Reformed Church that had sprung up in the Swiss Republic made,

indeed, an attempt at a Church organization in its Presbyterian constitution, by which the Church would assert its right to self-administration, but this did not create a constitutional bond of union for the whole Reformed Church. This constitution itself was constructed very differently in different lands, so that while in Geneva there was for a time a Reformed hierarchical Church system of moral terrorism, in England the Church was wholly incorporated in the civil organism. The Lutheran Church has not once made an attempt at such an external organization. In Germany, broken up into numerous provincial Churches, it fell, as in Sweden and Denmark, into complete dependence upon the State,—the supremacy of its prince, also, as the *summus episcopus* of the Church of that State, being recognised. This was thoroughly antagonistic to the nature of the Protestant Church, and, only in consequence of the circumstances of the times, was the subordination urged upon it justified by the Protestant jurisprudence by means of three different systems, the Episcopal, the Collegial, and the Territorial systems,—all three, viewed from the standpoint of history and of the idea of the Church, being equally untenable. In consequence of this rent in the Protestant Church, in consequence of its division into distinct communions in the separate States, and the general want of Church union, the consciousness of the idea of the Church, and of Church cohesion revived by the Reformers, must have been wholly lost, and instead thereof a complete indifference sprang up on the part of the Churches in different States toward one another. First the union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Evangelical Church reawakened the Church-consciousness in the domain of Protestantism, and aided in bringing under notice the nature of the Church itself for the accomplishment of the practical tasks that anew presented themselves. Although, indeed, the thought of a united Evangelical Church system, even if for Germany only, could not be realized, yet in the Churches of the several German States the demand was more

and more insisted upon, that the Evangelical Church in its relation to the State should have its right of independent existence admitted. Since then, under favourable political conjunctures, this demand has for the most part been responded to, and a constitution has been given which frees the Churches more or less from their earlier subordination to the State. It was, indeed, impracticable and unadvisable all at once completely to dissolve the old connection, and, laying aside all practical considerations, to fix, on purely theoretical grounds, the limits of the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. However defective the separate constitutions may have been, by means of them, the way was prepared for the Church of each State making a demand for its full rights, in accordance with the Reformation principle, in close connection with the State and with the recognition of its national character. Thus, for Germany at least, in harmony with the empire, a united organized Evangelical Church system might be restored.

While outward insignificance was the lot of the Protestant Church, the Romish Church was surrounded by the glittering blaze of its outward glory. With slight interruptions it has continued, during the whole period, not only to maintain its mediæval hierarchical imposing form, but even to carry out its hierarchical constitutions to a definite conclusion. Jesuitism restored concentrated its whole energies upon the conflict with Protestantism. Without understanding the inner power of the Protestant spirit, it regarded the outward divisions of Protestantism as favourable to its plans. Against the chief Protestant States, against England, and in Germany, against Prussia, it directed its attacks. The success which Jesuitism has gained in England, through numerous perversions in high social circles, shows the widespread defectiveness of culture and judgment among the English aristocracy. The English people have hitherto offered a sturdy resistance. In Prussia the decided complaisance of the Government from political motives has been favourable to those Jesuitical schemes.

For the furtherance of their plans the Jesuits knew how to draw the papal authority into their service. The *syllabus errorum*, sketched by them and published by Pius IX. in 1864, under the usual assumption that the Romish Church alone is the custodier of divine truth, ventured to repudiate the authority of all other Churches, and the jurisdiction of the State, and to condemn all modern civilisation which exists as a result of the Reformation. In order to give to their project a solid foundation, the Jesuits advanced so far as to elevate, at the Vatican Council, on the 18th July 1870, the divine sovereign power of the Pope into an article of the Church faith. Now, however, after attempts at the political humiliation of Protestant Prussia had been twice defeated, the German Empire has been re-established under a Protestant Emperor, and the Jesuits were driven from the realm; Prussia, by the May Laws of the year 1873, asserted its jurisdiction and civil rights in opposition to Vatican Catholicism; and the Jesuits, to their great chagrin, have seen, in Protestant Prussia, their plans crossed and baffled. In opposition, therefore, to the Prussian supremacy, in the most reckless manner and regardless of all Church piety, they here advanced their hierarchical pretensions. Yielding on the part of the Church should be cautiously but firmly enforced by the State; for by a Church constitution, like that of the Vatican, and so long as Jesuitism lasts, these same schemes will be always renewed. The opposition which has risen up in the bosom of the Romish Church itself, expressed with scientific and moral energy, against the Vatican Decree, and which has led to the formation of the Old Catholic communion, will be scarcely hurtful to the Curia, unless the Old Catholics resolve to break with the principles of the hierarchical Church system, and, regardless of consequences, to witness for the truth.

As to the hierarchical constitution, so also to the sacerdotal worship of the Romish Church, the Reformation assumes a directly negative attitude. In the department of worship,

however, the Reformation principle gave forth an immediately positive utterance. The distinction which forms the presupposition of the Romish ritual, the distinction of priests and laymen, was utterly abolished. Faith brings the Christian into an immediate relation with God and Christ, in consequence of which there is no need of any mediation by a special priesthood. It is not the priest who, by means of his action, has to dispense divine grace to the Church, but the believing Christian acting for himself appropriates that grace; and not the priest, but the believing community, is the acting subject in worship. From the manifold forms of sacerdotal worship, which contribute to the externalization of the faith, and appeal only to the senses and imagination, Protestant worship withdrew itself to attend to the spiritual element, and made spiritual instruction in the faith its one and only aim. This has for its foundation the divine means of grace, the word of God and the sacraments, which are restricted in number to those instituted by Christ, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The principal parts of the worship are, therefore, preaching and the dispensation of the sacraments. For the sake of order both are committed to the clerical office, which as a service, on the part of those who bear it, to the members of the Church, cannot presuppose any rank superior to that of Church membership. To the word of God which the clergyman preached, and the sacraments, which he dispensed, an objective power was attributed: this, however, was not a magical power, communicated by a priestly act, but a spiritual saving power conditioned by faith. Preaching, which in Roman Catholic worship had been crushed almost out of sight by the sacramental actions, became the central-point in the Protestant service, and in spite of the arrest which it suffered during the period of dominant dogmatism and the illumination, it has been this pre-eminently which has regularly nourished the Christian piety of the community, and has maintained stedfastly the evangelical faith amid oppression

and persecution. Besides preaching, the spiritual song also exercised no slight influence upon the edification of the community, which, springing out of the reawakened life of faith, became, especially in the Lutheran communion, a rich source of encouragement and comfort in public and private devotion. The Church festivals were restricted to the seasons hallowed by occurrences in the life of Jesus, while the numerous Catholic festivals of the saints were excluded from the Protestant festival-cycle. But notwithstanding the thoroughgoing transformation, which the Reformation wrought upon the mode of worship formerly prevailing, the Lutheran Church at least proceeded very moderately and in a conservative spirit. Neither has it ever denied the value of art in relation to Christian worship. As it made sacred poetry and music contribute their aid, it also did not despise the decoration of its churches with the creations of statuary and painting. Ecclesiastical architecture did not so soon succeed in finding an architectural style which would be in keeping with the character of Protestant worship. Its simplicity and spirituality were opposed to the Gothic style with its magnificent cathedrals, and first in modern times, after many unsuccessful attempts, the Protestant spirit produced the forms, which satisfy the æsthetic requirements, as well as those of the worshippers. The Reformed Church has dealt with the Roman Catholic forms of worship far more rigorously than the Lutheran Church. Inasmuch as it has abandoned all historical development of ritual, and in the ordaining of forms of worship keeps strictly to Holy Scripture, it completely banished art from the ritual, and satisfied itself with the simplest church buildings, having within them merely an altar, and in public worship, besides preaching and prayer, having only a simple psalmodic service.

The Romish Church, during the whole period, sought to surround the mediæval ritual, to which it stedfastly adhered, with every access of external pomp, and to edify its members by

processions, pilgrimages, and jubilee indulgences. Instructed by Protestantism as to the value of preaching, it has not neglected to adopt this as an integral part of its worship. The Jesuits particularly have laid themselves out as itinerant preachers among Catholic nations, and as the Propaganda among Protestants. The Romish Church is under obligation to the Jesuits for a special enrichment of its ritual, inasmuch as they with skilful calculation have raised the worship of the Virgin to its utmost supernatural height. Moved by the Jesuits, Pius IX., on 8th December 1854, proclaimed, as a divinely revealed dogma, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God. Since then the Jesuits have managed, by means of this dogma, to foster the superstition of the Roman Catholic masses (Lourdes, Marpingen, Dittrichswalde), and have set in view appearances of the Virgin Mary in the form of a child, in order to support the miracle of infallibility in the head of the Church by means of the Catholic people's belief in the Marian miracles, and to outshine the simple evangelical form of worship of Christian piety by the glitter of heavenly manifestations.

By means of the Reformation principle of faith the Christian life was restored to that ethical freedom which has its ground and origin in faith. The one-sided over-estimation of believing piety, and the torpidity of belief in dogma, afforded for a time an excuse for asserting moral quietism and indifferentism. The subjection of the Church, especially the Lutheran Church, to the State, in consequence of which the consciousness of the Christian community got no sufficient expression, also restrained the manifestations of moral life, both in individual members and in the Church as a whole. Nevertheless, by means of the evangelical form of worship, which brings continually to believers fresh vigour from the fountain of Christian truth, a Christian independence was, for the most part, brought to maturity among evangelical people, an earnest moral sense, which determines its moral attitude, not by the rule of an

external authority, but by the Christian conscience, and assumes to its own conscience the responsibility for its procedure. The Reformation had given abundant scope for its practical exemplification, by the position which it assigned to the Church in relation to the State. Inasmuch as the Reformation abolished the Roman Catholic opposition of Church and State, Protestant ethics sought to avoid the monkish withdrawal from civil life, and rather to prove the worth of its Christian character, by attaching itself in a patriotic spirit to the highest interests of the State, and devoting itself to whatever it might be called to do in all spheres of public life. In the domain of Protestantism the conviction has become more and more firmly rooted, that Church and State stand in the closest ethical connection with one another, that the Church has to realize its moral ideals in the civil life, and the State the surest basis of its existence and advancement in the religious moral sense of its citizens. By means of the freedom from every external hierarchical authority which the Reformation secured for the State, a way has been prepared for the uninterrupted development of the spirit which animated the Reformation. The free investigation of nature, of history, and of the human mind, after the old classical model, has by the Reformation been restored. Political freedom, industry, art, the exact sciences, and philosophy have to thank the breach with Roman Catholicism for their rapid advance in modern times. Licence is the caricature of freedom, and makes its appearance, leading to wild destructive dreamings, to materialistic and atheistic aberrations. But the spirit of Protestantism is a spirit of religious moral obligation, and will conquer, with the weapons of this spirit, whatever rises in opposition against it. A comparison between Protestant and Catholic nations proves the elevatory influence, which has been exerted upon the life of the former, by their Protestant Confession. Resting on this fact, Protestantism endeavours to carry out its principles of life in their full ideality, in order that from its spiritual

elevation it might be able to remove the antithesis prevailing in practical life between culture and Christianity, human and divine truth, secular science and theology, and to construct a single national life penetrated by Christian truth.

Catholicism, by means of the dogma of the papal infallibility, has constituted the conscience of the Pope the conscience of the Catholic believers, and has reduced its members to a state of bondage, which can express itself only in the form of unconditional obedience, not in that of Christian morality. To the mediæval ascetic view of life, it has remained faithful. Less with a view to ascetic elevation than for the ends of the Propaganda, the Jesuits have, in recent times, encouraged monasticism, and have fostered it, especially in England and Germany, by the founding of cloisters. With the State, especially in the case of Protestant States, the Papal Church, by reason of its principles, cannot but come into conflict. It has at least resumed the mediæval conflict with the German Empire in its onslaught upon the Protestant German Empire, since now, just as then, it gives out its human ordinances to be divine, and consequently, superior to those of the civil power. The State had no intention to step over into the religious domain of the Romish Church, or to strip the Catholics of freedom, and place them under restraint in ecclesiastical matters. It was, however, its duty to assert its own divine right over against a human-hierarchical absolutism, which, by the absolute obedience of its members, threatens the civil life. The Jesuits have not hesitated to excite the Catholic people by various means to opposition, and to represent their deprivation of the power to persecute others as a persecution of the Church. By the Curia itself, rebellion against the ecclesiastical laws imposed by the State was recommended as a good Catholic act. The advances in culture which, in the region of national life, have been made since the Reformation without the approval or sanction of the Papal Church, have by repeated decrees been condemned by the Papacy, but in spite of that

divine authority which it arrogates to itself, it has not yet succeeded in accomplishing their reversal.

Missionary agencies were also developed during this third period. Missions now were sent to the farthest regions, Eastern Asia, Australia, Africa, and America, but they did not produce such great and enduring results as in the first and second periods. Notwithstanding the ecclesiastical division, by which its energies were called to deal with its own inner condition, the Romish Church itself, even in the sixteenth century, did not abandon the task of extending the Catholic faith. The Jesuits, guided by the tendencies of their order, undertook missionary work with great zeal. By the establishment of the congregation *de propaganda fide* in the year 1662, a centre was formed from which the Romish Church, abundantly furnished with means, sent its message of faith into all parts of the world. Protestantism, so soon as it was assured of its victory in the conflict with Rome, proved its truly evangelical spirit by self-sacrificing devotion to missionary work. Owing, however, to the ecclesiastical disintegration and defective organization in the realm of Protestantism, missions could not be an affair of the Church; yet in the two Churches, in the Lutheran and the Reformed, distinguished men and separate societies undertook the Church's duty, and called forth, in ever-widening circles of the community, Christian love for the heathen world. Confessional and political interests have in many ways interfered with the mission work of this period. Hostility toward missions, as well as want of experience in the practical conduct and conjunct management of them, must bear the blame principally of so many unsuccessful attempts, and such small results, as the history of missions during the last century can show, notwithstanding the great sacrifices that have been made. A vast field of labour still lies before Christian missions. Of the thirteen hundred millions of the world's inhabitants only four hundred millions are Christians.

Church history is the history, according to its development in time, of the visible Church or of the kingdom of God, to which man is called through Christ. The course of the Church life lay through the midst of various disturbances and checks, but it always rose above these troubles by means of the idea which it contained. Throughout its past career, the Church has been hastening to its ideal aim, the realization of which is to be attained in the future. For the present, Church history closes with the opposition of Catholicism and Protestantism. During the ages past, the Romish Church has been, for the nations which it embraces, a richly-endowed administrator of Christian salvation, and to the faithful, appears still the old venerable institute, on which they hang with child-like confidence; but as at the Reformation, so now even more, it is a historical anachronism. Both Churches, the Romish and the Evangelical, in spite of the Christian elements they have in common, will have to maintain a long conflict with one another, the Romish as the Church of hierarchical lordship and absolute obedience, the Evangelical as the Church of Christ administered in His spirit. In the former, there is a standing still, in the latter, the fulfilment of the saying of the Lord in the power of the Spirit of truth who leads into all truth (John xvi. 13).

The following works are the most important modern helps for the study of Church history:—

J. C. L. Gieseler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Bd. i. Bd. ii., Abth. 1–4. Bd. iii., Abth. 1, 2. Bonn 1824–1853. Bd. i. ii. in several editions. Bd. iv.–vi. from Gieseler's manuscript, edited by E. R. Redepenning. Bonn 1852, 1853. Bd. vi. Die Dogmengeschichte. [English translation: Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. 5 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1846–1856.] J. A. W. Neander, Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche. Hamburg 1825–1852. 6 Bde. (down to the Council of Basel). 4 Aufl.

9 Bde. 1866. [English translation: Neander's Church History. 9 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. In Bohn's Standard Library in 10 vols.] C. A. Hase, Kirchengeschichte. Leipzig 1833. 10 Aufl. 1877. [English translation: History of the Christian Church. From the 7th German ed. New York 1855.] H. E. F. Guericke, Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. Berlin 1833. 9 Aufl. Leipzig 1866, 1867. [Engl. transl.: Manual of Church History: First Six Centuries. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.] Ch. W. Niedner, Lehrbuch der Christlichen Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart. Neueste Aufl. Berlin 1866. C. R. Hagenbach, Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 19 Jahrhundert. Leipzig 1869–1872. F. C. Baur, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche. 5 Bde. Tübingen 1863, 1864. Bd. 5. Kirchengeschichte des 19 Jahrhunderts. Herausgeg. von E. Zeller. 2 Aufl. Leipzig 1877. Also the Manuals of Church History by J. E. Chr. Schmidt, W. Münscher, Ph. Marheineke, E. F. Stäudlin, J. T. L. Danz, J. G. V. Engelhardt, F. Schleiermacher, W. B. Lindner, J. H. Kurtz [English translation: Church History. 2 vols. Edin.: T. & T. Clark], G. A. Fricke, J. L. Jacobi, H. Schmid, J. P. Lange, F. A. Hasse. The Roman Catholic historians of the century are: Stolberg, Katerkamp, Ritter, Locherer, Ruttenstock, Hortig, Döllinger, Reichlin—Meldegg, Möhler, Alzog, Kraus, Annegarn.[1] [Robertson, History of Christian Church from Apostolic Age to Reformation. 8 vols. London, 2nd ed. 1874. Milman, Latin Christianity. 9 vols. London. C. Hardwick, History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages. Also by same author: History of the Christian Church during the Reformation.]

[1] Compare the literature and its characterization by Hase, Kirchengeschichte. 10 Aufl. Pp. 7–14. [Engl. transl. pp. 7–12.]

§ 38. SUBORDINATE BRANCHES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

1. *The History of Missions.* 2. *History of the Constitution.* 3. *History of Worship.* 4. *History of Culture.*

The representation, which Church history renders of the life of the Church as a whole, has to be supplemented and completed by means of special branches dealing with the details. It is required of Church history that, in the treatment of the separate departments of the Church life, certain limits be observed, and that the materials of each of these be adopted only so far as is necessary. This rule is prescribed in order that, on the one hand, the course of history in its totality may be set forth, and that, on the other hand, the interconnection of all the departments may be recognised. The separate branches ought to disregard these limitations, and here we should have a comprehensive and complete treatment of the several departments, according as their significance for theology demands. As branches, however, of Church history they must avoid the complete isolating of the different departments, and with the separate treatment of each one, we must, at the same time, keep in view the inner connection in which as a whole they stand with one another.

1. HISTORY OF MISSIONS.—Since its establishment at Jerusalem, through all the centuries down to the present time, the Christian Church has carried on its missionary activity, and has been always enlarging the area of its labours for the kingdom of God. The history of missions has the task of describing the course of the Christian missionary activity, according to its entire historical extent. But it cannot be satisfied with merely indicating the outward extension of Christianity in respect of space, but must indicate its scientific

character by clearly laying down the historical conditions, under which this extension has taken place. For this purpose there have to be taken into account the two living forces which come into contact with one another, Christianity on the one hand, and on the other hand, the nationality by which Christianity has been adopted. However, the history of missions, as such, has to confine itself to the beginnings of Church life and to new formations. It is not, therefore, to be identified with the history of Christian culture, but simply constitutes a preparatory work for this; neither should it embrace a complete Church history, as Hagenbach (Encyclop. S. 276, Eng. Transl. p. 354), in objecting to a separate treatment of the history of missions, supposes that it must. It ought rather to pay attention to the general form of the Christian Church institution characteristic of each period, in order historically to understand the motives, and the furthering, or hindering, or perhaps even objectionable, nature of all the influences proceeding from Christianity which have affected a foreign nationality. Individual missionaries, whose labours have had a central importance in the missionary department, demand special attention. As Christian characters full of enthusiasm, love, and energy, and also as representatives of their own special Church system, the story of their work affords to the history of missions a source of the richest historical experience. But if thus the history of missions must be accompanied by a precise knowledge of Church history, it has also to prosecute as thorough an investigation as possible of all the nationalities in which Christianity has got, or at least, has attempted to get, a footing, in order to indicate the elements in the religious and general culture of these races which were favourable or unfavourable to the reception of Christianity. On both sides, especially during the later centuries, in which missionary activity has been carried on by very different ecclesiastical denominations, and has been extended to the most diverse races, the task of the history of missions has become an exceedingly difficult one,

but also, in its results, so much the more fruitful. In describing and characterizing the missionary activity, which has issued from the greater, and especially from the smaller, sects that have sprung up since the Reformation, it will have to shed light upon the peculiarly Christian character of that activity, as well as upon the higher or lower degree of Christian energy present therein, and since it gives information regarding the culture-life of the various races affected by the missionary activity of recent times, it affords valuable material for the general history of religion. It is not, however, required of the history of missions that it should turn aside from its main object to detail the history of the conflict of Christianity with the non-Christian religions, in its successes and reverses, viewed from the ideal standpoint of Church history. The distribution of its abundant materials is to be determined according to the races which were the subject of the mission, and accordingly, the division into periods will correspond to that which is most suitable for the division of the materials. The periods of Church history are not to be without more ado transferred to the history of missions, but are to be modified in accordance with the requirements of the case.

The comprehensive history of missions is still an unfulfilled task of Church history, but there are numerous works in which the materials are to be found.

Die Missionsgeschichte späterer Zeiten oder gesammelte Briefe der katholischen Missionarien aus allen Theilen der Welt. 6 Thle. Augsburg 1794–1798. Henrion, Allgemeine Geschichte der Missionen. From the French by Wittmann. 3 Bde. Schaffhausen 1847 ff. B. Ziegenbalg, Ausführliche Berichte, wie er und seine Collegen das Werk des Evangelii unter den Heiden geführt haben. 9 Bde. in 4. Halle 1705–1769. Continuation: Neuere Geschichte der evangelischen Missions—Anstalten zu Bekehrung der Heiden in Ostindien. Herausgeg. von G. C. Knapp. 6 Bde. in 4.

Halle 1770–1825. J. E. Th. Wiltsch, Handbuch der kirchlichen Geographie und Statistik von den Zeiten der Apostel bis zu Anfang des 16 Jahrhunderts. 2 Bde. Berlin 1846. Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des Reiches Jesu überhaupt und durch Missionarien unter den Heiden insbesondere. 5 Bde. Elberfeld 1805–1818. Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions = und Bibelgesellschaften. Herausgeg. von Blumhardt und Hoffmann. 1816 ff. Neue Folge. Herausgeg. von Ostertag. 1857 ff. Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Mission unter den Heiden. Berlin 1825 ff. Missionsblatt, herausgeg. von der Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen. Barmen 1826 ff. C. G. A. Oldendorf, Geschichte der Missionen der evangelischen Brüder auf den caraibischen Inseln. Barby 1777. G. H. Loskiel, Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika. Barby 1789. Die Missionen der evangelischen Brüder in Grönland und Labrador. 2 Thle. Gnadau 1831. C. G. Blumhardt, Versuch einer allgemeinen Missionsgeschichte der Kirche Christi. 2 Bde. Basel 1828–1829. H. G. Tschirner, der Fall des Heidenthums. Leipzig 1829. J. L. Ebner, Reise nach Süd Afrika und Darstellung meiner während acht Jahren dasselbst als Missionär unter den Hottentotten gemachten Erfahrungen. Berlin 1829. W. Brown, History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation. 2 vols. London 1814. [3rd ed. 3 vols. 1853.] R. Huie, History of Christian Missions since the Reformation to the Present Time. Edinburgh 1842. B. St. Steger, Die Protestantische Missionen. Neue Ausg. Halle 1857. [G. Warneck, Outline of the History of Protestant Missions. Transl. from 3rd German ed. by Dr. Thomas Smith. Edinburgh 1884. By same author and translator: Modern Missions and Culture: their Mutual Relations. Edinburgh 1883. Dr. Thomas Smith, Mediæval Missions. Edinburgh 1882.]

2. HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION.—As Christianity spread, the constitution of the Church was more and more carefully formulated. The separate organized congregations were the foundation from which ever enlarging circles rose into constitutional combinations, by means of fixed offices and regular Synods. By the division of the community into clergy and laity, the foundation of a hierarchical constitution of the Church was laid. Its development was interrupted by the establishment of Constantine's State-Church system, which has left its characteristic impress upon the Orthodox Greek Church in the supremacy of the Russian Emperor, but ultimately in the Western Church it reached its historical consummation in the Romish-papal sovereignty of the Church over the State. By the abolition of the antichristian distinction of lay and clerical, the Reformation eliminated the hierarchical element from the ecclesiastical constitution, but was prevented from practically carrying out its Church principle, and giving to the Reformed Church the organization of one united ecclesiastical whole. Instead of this, for the most part, an ecclesiastical disorganization makes its appearance. Protestantism was split up into several provincial Churches having no bond of union with one another, and into little sects, some of which in their own Church practice had retained certain constitutional forms of the old Church, others of which had submitted to the State-Church system of the prince in whose domain they existed. In consequence of the constitution which the ancient Church, and afterwards the separate sects, had assumed, certain formulæ have arisen, by means of which the order within the Church itself, as well as the relation in which the Churches stand to the States in which they are, may be laid down in the form of law. The most intimate connection exists between the spread of the Church constitution and the rise of the Canon Law, according to its intra—and extra—ecclesiastical significance. The history of the constitution of the Church has the task of

giving a historical representation of the ecclesiastical organism from the primitive Christian era, down through the various stages of its development, to the present time, in connection with the development of the Canon Law. It has Church history for its presupposition. It must likewise satisfy the same requirements as are made of the science of Church history, and must, guided by the idea of the Church, set forth the ecclesiastical constitution in respect of the interaction between this and the other departments of Church life with reference to the external influence of civil politics. Its contents, too, will be most suitably arranged according to the periods adopted in Church history. In consequence of the influence which the constitution at all times exercises over the general life of the Church, its separate treatment as one of the separate branches under Church history is justified. The practice of joining the history of the constitution with that of worship has its foundation in the fact, that the development of the two is closely connected. This, however, leads to a one-sided view of the constitution as simply concerned with worship, and prevents one from appreciating the independent significance of the history of the constitution.

The following works contain the materials for a general history of the Church constitution:—W. K. L. Ziegler, Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der kirchlichen Verfassungsformen in den ersten 6 Jahrhunderten der Kirche. Leipzig 1798. G. J. Planck, Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung. 5 Bde. Hannover 1803–1808. J. H. M. Ernesti, Der Kirchenstaat, oder die christliche Verfassung und Gemeinschaft der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. Nurnberg 1830. R. Rothe, Die Anfänge der christlichen kirche und ihrer Verfassung. Wittenberg 1837. A. Ritschl, Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche. Bonn 1850. 2 Aufl. 1857. S. Sugenheim, Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung des Kirchenstaates.

Leipzig 1854. Aem. L. Richter, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in Deutschland. Leipzig 1851. G. V. Lechler, Geschichte der Presbyterial- und Synodalverfassung zeit der Reformation. Leyden 1854. K. R. Hundeshagen, Beiträge zur Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte. Wiesbaden 1864 [W. Cunningham, Discussions on Church Principles. Edinburgh 1863. J. Bannerman, The Church of Christ. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1868. J. B. Lightfoot, Epistle to the Philippians. Dissertation on the Christian Ministry. 6th edition. London 1881. Pp. 181–269. E. Hatch, The Organization of the Early Christian Churches. Bampton Lecture for 1880. London 1881. C. Hodge, The Church and its Polity. London 1879. W. D. Killen, The Ancient Church. Edin. 1859. By the same writer, The Old Catholic Church. Edin. 1871. G. A. Jacob, The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament. London 1871. E. de Pressensé, Early Years of Christianity. Vol. iv. Life and Practice of the Early Church. Especially pp. 37–118. London 1879.

Of the older literature, the following are still eminently deserving to be consulted:—Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity. 2 vols. Oxford 1843, and various editions. Sir Peter King, Inquiry into the Constitution of the Primitive Church. George Gillespie, Aaron's Rod Blossoming. Also: Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland.]

3. The History of Worship.—The inner bond, by which the organized Christian community was held together, was its form of worship. So soon as the Christian communities had sprang up, they created for themselves forms by means of which they gave expression to their common faith, and were bound to the celebration of a common service. The productive activity of the Christian spirit in the department of worship continues through the whole course of Church history, and is determined by the fundamental views of Christianity prevailing during each period. The history of the worship of

Christian antiquity is of quite peculiar interest, as in it the Christian faith with perfect originality created forms of worship suitable for it, or moulded to its service the forms which it met with in Judaism and heathenism. During the Middle Ages the Eastern Church, and especially the Roman Church, imprinted their special characteristics upon their ritual. By the Reformation a complete revolution was effected in the department of worship, and the two principal Reformed Churches, the Lutheran and Calvinistic, again constructed their forms of worship differently. The smaller Protestant sects also in part consistently carried out their special dogmatic standpoint in the ordering of their forms of worship. Thus, after the Reformation, there appeared a great freedom and diversity in the construction of the Church service.

In accordance with all this, the task of the history of worship is determined. It must, in connection with the three periods of Church history, represent the development of the Christian worship from the earliest times down to the present. As a preparative it has ecclesiastical archæology, out of which it arises. From various confessional considerations, ecclesiastical archæology restricted itself in its researches on the history of worship to the ecclesiastical antiquity closing with the end of the sixth century, or at farthest, reached down to the Reformation. Nevertheless, important as ecclesiastical antiquity is, as the period of the beginning, the limits imposed have no historical justification. If this department is to maintain its significance and its value for theological science, it must extend beyond ecclesiastical antiquity and the Middle Ages down to the present, and exchange the name of ecclesiastical archæology for that of the history of Christian worship. This enlargement of the idea of this branch has been already insisted on in their Encyclopædias by Rosenkranz, Pelt, and Hagenbach. While it thus avoids the limits of time fixed by archæology, it has nevertheless, on its part, to determine the proper limits for the matter treated of in

archæology. As archæology began to take shape in the seventeenth century, it was simply a collection of the most diverse materials from Christian antiquity. As the archæologists of that period were wholly dominated by their regard for Christian antiquity, they believed that everything which had possessed significance and authority in it, must be received into the science of Christian antiquity, and hence they dragged in all that had a bearing upon the Christian life, constitution, worship, customs, and also what belongs to the history of doctrine. Archæology was gradually freed from this formlessness by the scientific treatment of Church history and the separate handling of its principal divisions, and was restricted to the department of worship. It still remained undecided whether with the history of worship that of the constitution should be combined. That the two were closely interwoven with one another must be readily admitted, but this also is true of the spread of Christianity, of Christian ethics, and Christian doctrine. From these last, as well as from the Church constitution, various influences proceed which affect the development of the worship. The history of worship will have equally to attend to all these as far as is necessary, without giving a pre-eminence to the constitution; while the latter, just as well as missions, ethics, and doctrine, lays claim to independent treatment separate from the history of worship.

The wealth of ritual forms which the Romish Church possesses is calculated to foster in it an interest in their origin. The most important archæologists of the Roman Catholic Church during the seventeenth century are J. B. Casalius, Bona, Claude, Fleury; during the eighteenth century, Martene, Mamachi, Selvaggio. Alex. Pellicia nearly approached the idea of archæology as the history of worship, in his work, *de christianæ ecclesiæ primæ, mediæ et novissimæ ætatis notitia*, which appeared at Naples 1777, and in a new edition under the care of J. J. Ritter. 3 vols. Coloniæ 1829–

1838. The following are further elaborations of this work: —J. A. Binterim's vorzügliche Denkwürdigkeiten der christ-katholischen Kirche aus der ersten, mittleren und letzten Zeit. 7 Bde. Mainz 1825 ff. 2 Aufl. 1830–1840. F. A. Staudenmaier, Geist des Christenthums, dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, den heiligen Handlungen und der heiligen kunst. 7 Aufl. Mainz 1866.

The Anglican Church, whose worship is for the most part related to the Romish, has for its archæological standard work —Joseph Bingham, Origines s. antiquitates ecclesiasticæ. It appeared in English—Antiquities of the Christian Church—in 1710: in Latin translation by J. H. Grischow in 11 vols. 4to. Hal. ed. 2, 1751–1781. An abridgment of Bingham was made by Blackmore, and was translated into German by Rambach in 1792.

In the Protestant Church of Germany archæological works were published by Quenstedt and Hildebrand in the seventeenth century, and by Spangenberg, S. J. Baumgarten, and Simonis, in the eighteenth. It was only in the present century that special attention was paid to the history of worship. J. Ch. W. Augusti, Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christliche Archæologie. 12 Bde. Leipzig 1817–1831. An abridgment of this: Handbuch der christlichen Archæologie. 3 Bde. Leipzig 1836, 1837. K. Schöne, Geschichtsforschungen über die kirchlichen Gebräuche und Einrichtungen der Christen. 3 Bde. Berlin 1819–1822. F. H. Rheinwald, Die Kirchliche Archæologie. Berlin 1830. W. Böhmer, Christlich-kirchliche Alterthumswissenschaft theologisch-kritisch bearbeitet. 2 Bde. Breslau 1836–1839. H. G. F. Guericke, Lehrbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Archæologie. Berlin 1847. 2 Aufl. 1859. F. Piper, Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen kunst, von der ältesten Zeit bis in's 16 Jahrhundert. Weimar 1847–1851. [Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. Edited by Smith and Cheetham. 2 vols. London 1876–1880.]

4. The History of Culture.—Christianity, which enters into history, not as a doctrine, but as a principle of life, has approved itself as such by effecting a moral regeneration, not only upon its individual confessors, but also upon the races among which it secured an entrance. In the Christian community there was developed out of its faith a Christian morality; among Christian races there was developed a Christian culture. This moral change, which was always preparing the way for the kingdom of God, completed itself in an unremitting conflict of the Christian spirit with the forces of life that opposed it. Wherever Christianity spread, it met with some special form of national life, as pre-eminently the Greek, Roman and German, a set of national customs firmly established by history, civil regulations, religion, art and science, tendencies and modes of life deeply rooted in the national consciousness. If now and again Christianity has adopted homogeneous elements from the culture life of the people among whom it spread, it has generally, and that scarcely designedly, destroyed the foundations of the heathen culture by acquiring gradually an influence, and by means of its inherent divine power it has transformed the natural-sensuous national life into a new spiritual creation. But as the Christian consciousness passes through historically diverse stages of development, so also does the ethical effect proceeding from it. Christian morality, as well as Christian culture generally, was conditioned by the peculiar character belonging to the general aspects of the Church life in each particular period. The history of Christian culture has the task of setting forth, according to the three periods of Church history, the ethical development of the Christian spirit. In executing this task, it has to treat in an introduction the characteristic Church principle by which each period was dominated, and from this to show in detail the influence which the Christian spirit has exercised upon the individual moral life and the manifold moral relations of life, on marriage, family life,

education, on social life, love, friendship, social intercourse, on popular festivals, plays, theatres, on the various ranks in society and their relation to one another, on industry, commerce, trade, on the education and instruction of the people. It has further to set forth the influences which have been exerted by Christianity upon art and science, especially upon philosophy, and on civic life, on the constitution, administration, and legislation, on war and peace, on politics and international law.

The history of Christian culture should, therefore, make it its special business to observe and give expression to what is beneath the surface of history, the most secret occurrences in the life of nations. Its task is a difficult one, inasmuch as it is brought into contact with many other sciences, and will readily be liable to the danger of losing itself in generality and vagueness, a danger which it can avoid only by keeping this steadily in view, that it is simply the influence in each period of the Christian spirit upon the various spheres of life referred to, that has to be set forth. It has for its presupposition the history of general culture; while for the latter, the history of Christian culture affords most valuable materials. Up to the present time, the history of Christian culture is an unsolved problem for historical theology. There are not wanting, however, works which furnish material for its accomplishment, and remind us that this is a need of Church history.

Tyge Rothe, Wirkungen des Christenthums auf den Zustand der Völker in Europa. Danish, 1774 ff. German, Kopenhagen 1775 bis 1783. 4 Bde. A. Ch. Bartels, Ueber den Werth und die Wirkungen der Sittenlehre Jesu. 2 Thle. Hamburg 1788, 1789. J. A. H. Tittmann, Ueber das Verhältniss des Christenthums zur Entwickelung des Menschengeschlechts. Leipzig 1817. H. Grégoire, De l'influence du christianisme sur la condition des femmes. Paris 1821. K. F. Stäudlin's geschichtliche Monographien

über das Gewissen, das Gebet, die Ehe, den Eid, den Selbstmord, die Sittlichkeit des Schauspiels, die Freundschaft. Leipzig 1822–1826. A. Neander, Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des Christenthums und des christlichen Lebens. Berlin 1822, 1823. Neue Aufl. 1825, 1827. 3 Bde. [English translation: Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages. London: Bohn.] F. Münter, Die Christin im heidnischen Hause vor den Zeiten Constantin's des Grossen. Kopenhagen 1828. W. Wachsmuth, Europäische Sittengeschichte, vom Ursprunge volksthümlicher Gestaltung bis auf unsere Zeit. 5 Bde. Leipzig 1831–1838. By the same author: Allgemeine Culturgeschichte. 3 Bde. Leipzig 1850–1852. G. Klemm, Allgemeine Culturgeschichte der Menschheit. 10 Bde. Leipzig 1843 ff. H. Rückert, Culturgeschichte des deutschen Volks in der Zeit des Uebergangs aus dem Heidenthum in das Christenthum. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1853, 1854. C. Schmidt, Essai historique sur la société civile dans la monde romain et sur sa transformation par le christianisme. Paris 1853. E. Chastel, Études historique sur l'influence de la charité durant les premiers siècles chrétiens. Paris 1853. O. Zöckler, Kritische Geschichte der Askese, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte christlicher Sitte und Cultur. Frankfurt 1863. J. J. Honegger, Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Culturgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit. 4 Bde. Leipzig 1868–1872. [W. E. H. Lecky, History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. 3rd ed. 2 vols. London 1877. J. B. Lightfoot, Epistle to Philippians. 6th ed. London 1881. Dissertation on Paul and Seneca, pp. 270–328. B. F. Westcott, Epistles of St. John. London 1883. Essay on the Church and the World, pp. 237–269. R. W. Church, On some Influences of Christianity upon National Character. London 1873. Uhlhorn, Christian Charity in the Ancient Church. Translated from the German. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883. By the same author, a more extensive work: Die Christliche

Liebesthätigkeit. 1 u. 2 Bd. Stuttgart 1884. E. de Pressensé, Life and Practice in the Early Church. Book III. The Moral Life of the Christians of the Third and Fourth Centuries. London 1879. Pp. 345–477. C. L. Brace, Gesta Christi: a History of Human Progress under Christianity. London 1883. G. Matheson, Growth of the Spirit of Christianity from the First Century to the Dawn of the Lutheran Era. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1877.]

§ 39. SUBORDINATE BRANCHES OF CHURCH HISTORY—*Continuation.*

5. *History of Doctrines.* 6. *Symbolics.* 7. *Patristics.* 8. *Statistics.*

The practical Church system, which the four branches treated in the preceding paragraphs have for their subject, is the domain in which the theoretical development of the Christian faith is carried on. With this theoretical development the three first named branches under the present section have to do; while statistics, as the last branch of historical theology, has to state the result of the whole course of Church history.

5. HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.—That aspect of the Christian life, which makes its appearance in Church history as Christian doctrine, forms the subject of the history of doctrines. The Christian idea, the very soul of the great Church body, and the presupposition of all that emerges in the whole ecclesiastical domain, enters at the very beginning upon a course of development which continues, through all the centuries, down to the present. Faith, as the immediate harmony of the spirit with the Christian idea adopted by it, cannot remain in this immediateness. The constant impulse toward knowledge inherent in man's nature, and the varying historical motives which affect it from without, render it necessary that faith should, over and over again, make its own contents the subject of its consideration and reflection, in order to find the most suitable form for its expression, and to become ever more fully conscious of its own truth. Each period has given utterance to the results of this intellectual labour in definite doctrinal propositions or dogmas, whether they be produced by free theological activity, or be established by ecclesiastical ordinances. These dogmas taken

together form the sum-total of all the conclusions which the Christian spirit down to a particular period has deduced from its originally inherent religious idea. The history of doctrines has the task of following the development process of the Christian idea, according to the various historical stages through which it passed from the beginning down to the present. It is, therefore, the scientific exposition of the development into self-consciousness of the Christian spirit, or, with reference to the form of its expression, the scientific exposition of the historical development of Christian doctrine. It has for its supposition Church history, not only because under this the history of the development of doctrine is also embraced, but because it supplies to the history of doctrine the other aspects of Church life, the influence of which upon the construction of dogma demands attention. On the other hand, the history of doctrine as compared with Church history is a thorough and detailed investigation, in so far as its exposition of the development of doctrine is distinguished from that given in Church history. While Church history treats the history of dogmas in connection with outward events conditioned by it, and considers only those dogmas which have had a general importance for Church history, and indeed even these only if they have won significance as a powerful conviction in the Church, the history of doctrines is guided solely by an interest in dogma, and has to attend, not merely to this or that dogma, according to its influence upon the general life of the Church, but also to all those dogmas which had not such an influence, and at the same time to proceed genetically, so that it reaches back to the earliest germs of dogma, and brings into view all the spiritual potencies which co-operate in the further development and final establishment thereof, in order to afford historical insight into the original significance of a dogma, and thus lead generally to its right understanding. This is the procedure enjoined upon the history of doctrines by that very method, which, for its scientific execution, it has

in common with Church history. The history of doctrines must particularly vindicate its theological character by making the Christian idea its foundation, and from it showing the religious contents of the particular dogmas, as well as estimating the final dogmatic result. Thus, for its foundation, it, as well as Church history, has to fall back upon the biblical history of religion, and to adopt from it the idea of Christianity, which is the operative element in the development of the history of doctrines.[1]

The history of doctrines has its general distribution, as well as its method, given it by Church history. The special view of the Church, peculiar to each of the three great periods of Church history, influences also the doctrinal consciousness of the period, and determines the direction of its doctrinal development. The history of doctrines must, therefore, attach itself to the three periods of Church history. Within these, however, shorter periods may need to be distinguished, not coterminous with those of Church history, since the development of doctrine may take windings of its own, which do not correspond to the principal events which determine the arrangement of periods in Church history. In the fixing of its periods the history of doctrines must be guided partly by material, partly by formal, considerations, according as the division into periods is determined by the doctrines which appear in the foreground during a particular period, or by the special treatment given them during a period. Only by following the division determined by the contents themselves, will the history of doctrines be able to fulfil its task, in giving a clear representation of doctrinal development in each epoch. At the

[1] Fr. Nitzsch (Grundriss der Christlichen Dogmengeschichte. Erster Theil. Die patristische Periode. Berlin 1870. S. 8 ff.) rightly requires the historian of doctrine to lay down a fundamental proposition, "from which the whole Christian doctrine may be developed, and which penetrates the whole development thereof as an identical subsumption." Only Nitzsch seems to understand this proposition, for the purpose in view, too externally, when he finds it in the fundamental dogma "that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, and as such has laid the foundation of the salvation of the world."

same time, it follows from this, that it must describe the several doctrines of each period, not according to an external principle of arrangement borrowed perhaps from modern dogmatics, but rather, according to their greater or less significance for their own age. It will, therefore, be most convenient to prefix to every period, and every division of a period, an introduction in which, first of all, the general aspect of the Church during the period, and then, the peculiar doctrinal character of each division of the period, are laid down, and thereafter, in the order of periods, the doctrines in which the whole interest of the period centred, or the intellectual and spiritual tendencies which prevailed in their treatment, have a prominence given to them, while others, which are only of secondary importance for the period, receive a less thorough treatment. It has also to be remembered, that the construction of dogma does not proceed systematically according to a fixed plan, but goes on in connection with the whole life of the Church. According to the spirit prevailing in a period, this or that aspect of the Christian idea, this or that doctrine, comes into prominence, and constitutes the special theological question of that age. Upon such a doctrine, a decision is come to from the depth of the Christian consciousness, and though further reflection may indeed have to correct much therein, yet there will always remain a religious core, an enduring possession of the Christian spirit. The history of doctrines must trace the course of development of this central dogma from its origin in the Christian spirit, and must make this prominent in its distribution and arrangement. In this way it will most speedily reach a position from which it may combat the erroneous notion, according to which in the history of doctrines there is to be discovered only a labyrinth of human opinions, or at most, a collection of curiosities, which might indeed have had a value in a past age, but are without significance for the present. Against such a superficial conception, the history of doctrines should, by the whole course of its

procedure, make it evident that the general historical development of doctrine is one grand spiritual organism, into which the Christian idea, in the process of time, has grown,—an organism with which the theologian has to deal, just as the naturalist has to deal with any department of nature, in which he meets with, not only malformations and distortions, but also configurations, which had been called forth, and are retained, by the necessary laws of organic structure. It is now generally admitted that limits are not arbitrarily to be assigned to the history of doctrines, as though it were to be confined to the first six centuries, as the properly patristic period, or to the era of the Reformation. It is rather acknowledged that it ought to extend down to the present, and to embrace within its range every doctrinal system of the present. Only when thus conceived of in a comprehensive manner can it serve as a scientific preparation for systematic theology.

Elementary attempts at histories of doctrines were made in the earliest times, by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus; but as a distinct branch, separate from Church history, the history of doctrines makes its appearance first in modern times. The materials for a history of doctrines were formerly included in works on Church history and dogmatics, and in polemical treatises. The separate treatment thereof was undertaken in the Roman Catholic Church, in the seventeenth century, by Dionys. Petavius, and Ludov. Thomassin, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Ludov. Dumesnil. The history of doctrines was treated of in the Protestant Church, in the seventeenth century, by the Scotsman John Forbes of Corse [Instructiones historico-theologicæ de doctrina Christiana. Amstelodam. 1645]; and in the eighteenth century, by Georg Walch, Geschichte der Streitigkeiten innerhalb und ausser der protestantischen Kirche. 10 Bde. 1730–1739. Franz Walch, Entwurf einer vollständiger

Historie der Ketzereien, Spaltungen und Religionsstreitigkeiten bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation. 2 Thle. Leipzig 1762–1785. (Unfinished; reaches only to the middle of the ninth century.)

After the movement originating with Ernesti and Semler, the history of doctrines first received a scientific form in W. Münscher, Handbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte. 4 Bde. Marburg 1797–1809. By the same author: Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte. Marburg 1811 3rd ed. enlarged and continued to the latest times by D. von Cölln, Hupfeld and Neudecker. Cassel 1832–1838. Baumgarten-Crusius, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. Jena 1832. Besides these may be mentioned the Handbooks of Augusti, Bertholdt, Ruperti, Lentz, Engelhardt, Meier, Hagenbach [English translation: History of Christian Doctrines. 3 vols. T. & T. Clark, Edinr. 1880, 1881], Beck, Marheineke, Noack, Gieseler, Neander [English translation: History of Christian Dogmas, 2 vols. London], Schmid. The most serviceable works for the scientific construction of the history of doctrines are those of Baur and Nitzsch. F. Ch. Baur, Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte. Tübingen 1847. 3 Aufl. 1867. By the same author: Vorlesungen über die christliche Dogmengeschichte. Herausgegeben von Ferd. Fr. Baur. Bd. 1. Abth. 1, 2. Bd. 2, 3. Leipzig 1865–1867. Fried. Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte. 1 Theil. Patristische Periode. Berlin 1870. [W. Cunningham, Historical Theology. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1870. W. G. T. Shedd, A History of Christian Doctrine. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1869. J. Donaldson, A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine. 3 vols. London 1864–1866. T. G. Crippen, Popular Introduction to the History of Christian Doctrine. Edinburgh 1883.]

The most important monographs in the department of the history of doctrines are the following:—F. Ch. Baur, Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religionsphilosophie in

ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung. Tübingen 1835. By the same author: Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung. Tübingen 1838. By the same author: Die christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung. 3 Bde. Tübingen 1841–1843. J. A. Dorner, Entwickelungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi von der ältesten Zeiten bis auf die neueste. Stuttgart 1839. 2 Aufl. 2 Bde. Berlin 1851. [English translation: History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ. 5 vols. Edinburgh 1862–1864.] A. Ritschl, Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung. 3 Bde. Bonn 1870–1874. [English transl. of vol. i.: History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation. Edinburgh 1872.]

6. SYMBOLICS.—Just as the development of faith into dogma rested upon an inner necessity, so historical circumstances rendered it necessary that the Church of the first age should, in the presence of Judaism and paganism, gather up into brief statements the sum-total of its faith, by the confession of which, any one would be distinguished from Jews and pagans, and would have himself recognised as a Christian. Such a short confessional formulary of the Christian faith received, even in the earliest age, the name of *Symbolon*, an expression which was evidently transferred from the vocabulary of the Greek mysteries to the vocabulary of the Church, with the meaning "token or sign of recognition." The most ancient is that derived from the baptismal formula and gradually reduced to a definite shape in the so-called *symbolum apostolicum*. By the further elaboration of Christian doctrinal tenets into dogma, certain principal doctrines were raised by the Church, now united with the State and in possession of external authority, to the rank of ecclesiastically sanctioned dogmas, and the confession of these was made the condition,

not only of Church communion, but even of eternal salvation. The *symbolum apostolicum* was dogmatically perfected in the *symbolum Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum* and *Athanasianum*, and in these three so-called Œcumenical Confessions, the faith of the Church was canonically fixed. These ecclesiastical acts of doctrinal legislation may have a historical justification, but in themselves they rest upon a misunderstanding of the Christian revelation, as well as of the character of dogma. Dogma is always simply a mere human reflection upon the eternal foundation of the faith, and, as the product of a particular period and its characteristic intellectual tendency, has in it an element of contingency, instability, and transitoriness. But the Christian spirit acknowledges itself bound only to divine truth to which it has given free assent, and to all external dogmatic constraint, it opposes the right of its own private dogmatic judgment. So soon, then, as that ecclesiastico-legal dogmatism appeared, the Church also, which, according to its idea, ought to be one, began on account of dogma to break up into divisions, and this breach, under the domination of dogmatism, continued always to increase. Those who diverged from the doctrinal canon of the Church were branded, in distinction from the orthodox, as heterodox or heretics, and were driven out from the dominant Church. If, however, their doctrinal view possessed the necessary vitality, they took their stand over against the existing Church, and sometimes expressed their dogma in a symbol, which then became the basis of their ecclesiastical communion separate from the dominant Church, and was reckoned by it heretical and schismatical. As before against Jews and pagans, so now against one another, Christians prepared their Confessions, in which they gave expression to their doctrinal differences as a ground of ecclesiastical separation. For the most part, these were the outcome of the most violent doctrinal conflicts. What was for a long time matter of controversy, occasioning the expenditure of intellectual power in the highest degree,

and enlisting the hearty co-operation of the Church, becomes in the Symbols a definite dogmatic formula, and is thus brought to a conclusion. Symbolics has for its subject those various Symbols or Confessions, by which the existing Christian denominations are distinguished from one another, and its historical task is to set forth their origin and contents. The arrangement of its material is given it, partly by the order of succession in which the Churches appeared in history, partly by the historical importance of the different Churches. General Symbolics has to go back to the time at which first the canonical imprimatur was given to the dogma by ecclesiastical authority, and the foundation of the division of the Churches was laid. This took place in the Old Catholic Church, which, at its Œcumenical Synods, canonically fixed its system of belief in regard to the Christological and Trinitarian dogmas, as it is laid down in the three mutually supplementary Œcumenical Confessions. By the ecclesiastical decision of the controversies, which agitated the Church in reference to those dogmas, the Church sects were called into existence which, though scattered and enfeebled, are to be found in the East down to the present,—the Nestorians who are Dyophysites, the Jacobites who are Monophysites, and the Maronites who are Monotheletes. Differences in regard to the Trinitarian dogma occasioned the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, which, as the Greek-Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, have, since the eleventh century, been irreconcilably opposed to one another. Over against the Romish Churchism which had declined toward legalism, the Reformation set down its principle of faith, and made membership of the Church dependent, not upon the confession of a doctrinal code, but upon spiritual surrender to Christ. Rome and the Reformation were concerned, not about a doctrinal difference, but about the inmost essence of Christianity and the deepest and most vital question of the Church. Nevertheless, the Reformation, in consequence of the historical

conditions amid which it arose and had to struggle for existence, has not only not been able to free itself from the traditional-ecclesiastical dogmatism, but very soon again got itself deeply immersed therein. In order to maintain its connection with the ancient Church, it felt under obligation to adopt the Church doctrine sanctioned in the three Œcumenical Confessions, and in respect of the Trinitarian and Christological doctrines, it put itself under the same canonical yoke as the Romish Church. The special opposition to Rome was carried out in the department of Christian anthropology. The anthropological doctrine had, indeed, already had its development in the Western Church, during the fifth century, in the controversy between Augustine and Pelagius, but during the Middle Ages the Romish Church had not arrived at any symbolic decision regarding it. In the practice of the Church, therefore, a Pelagianizing tendency had gained the ascendancy, and in it principally were rooted those ecclesiastical defects and irregularities, which the Reformation had to combat by its principle of faith. In order to establish this theologically, and to carry it out according to its full negative and positive import, the anthropological dogma had to be subjected to a new investigation, and to have given it the most definite expression possible. This theological labour, however, did not suffice, but, under the dominating influence of the notion derived from the ancient Church, that a dogmatic code and strictly formulated doctrine formed the basis of the Church, ecclesiastical sanction was given to the conclusions arrived at, and they were clothed with canonical authority. The consequence here again was another division. The Swiss and German Reformation, closely bound together by common principles, fell apart, in consequence of doctrinal differences, into the two great factions of the Lutheran and Calvinistic-Reformed Churches. In order to mark their distinction from one another and from the Romish Church, both now put forth very complete and comprehensive Confessions, which are usually

called Symbolical Writings or Books. In an equally comprehensive style, the Romish Church answered them. In the Tridentine Decrees and the *catechismus romanus,* it published for the first time its system of doctrine in a systematic form, and, as the unalterable faith of the Church, placed it under the protection of the hierarchy and the Papacy. In the Churches of the Reformation which were not in possession of any such supreme tribunal, a further split was always called forth by the prevailing doctrinal constraint. The differences which separated the smaller Reformed denominations from the two principal Churches, are partly of a fundamental nature, partly in reference to the anthropological dogma. While the Lutheran Church maintained a modified Augustinianism, and the Reformed Church, on the other hand, set forth Augustinianism in the form of the strictest Predestinationism, the smaller sects generally went over to semi-Pelagianism. They issued for the most part from the Reformed Church, as the Mennonites (Anabaptists), Arminians, Quakers, Methodists; but also from the Lutheran Church, we have the Moravians and Swedenborgians. Contemporaneously with the Reformation arose the sect of the Unitarians or Socinians, whose protest was directed against the Old Catholic doctrine of the Trinity and also against the Christology, acknowledged by the Protestant Churches, as set forth in the three Œcumenical Symbols.

Inasmuch as Symbolics sets forth the origin and the doctrine of the symbols of these different Churches, the connection in which it stands to the history of doctrines is self-evident. Symbolics is essentially a complement of the history of doctrines. The latter must certainly embrace in its domain the contents of the Church Confessions, but, in consequence of the wide range of the task assigned it, it cannot estimate the doctrines of those Confessions according to their ecclesiastical importance, and according to the connection which, in a Church system of belief, they bear to one another, but only

according to the importance, which, in the general course of the history of doctrines, they have won. On the other hand, Symbolics is distinctly restricted to dealing with those almost crystalline formulæ, in which the dogmatico-historical development of the centuries makes its contributions to the Church Confessions, and has to represent the doctrines of those Confessions according to the importance which they have for a particular Church system, and according to the more or less systematic connection by which they are bound together in each system of belief. In numerous symbols, the Christian faith has unfolded its wealth of contents in the most diverse forms, and each doctrinal formula, to which a Church gave its adhesion, is a special expression of that faith, which has to evidence its power in Church construction. Inasmuch as Symbolics brings out to view this doctrinal wealth, and those various ecclesiastical parties, into which the Church has split up, it is, next to the history of doctrines, the most important preparation for systematic theology. For the scientific accomplishment of the task of Symbolics, systematic theology is indispensable, as affording, not only generally the knowledge of the historical construction of doctrines, but also specially, the knowledge of the views prevalent in the different Churches about Christianity as a whole, and about its several dogmas.

The ecclesiastico-theological standpoint, which the symbolist has adopted, is of importance for the scientific treatment of Symbolics. The question is asked, What attitude should he assume toward the doctrinal system of his own Church, and toward that of the other Churches? History here also affords the answer, that only after complete and comprehensive confessional writings had been issued in the period of the Reformation, could that branch of theology now known as Symbolics begin to take shape. It was originally developed from a purely subjective interest of the separate Churches, inasmuch as each of the three principal Churches, the Romish, the Lutheran, and the Reformed, maintained that the doctrinal

system laid down in its symbols was the absolute doctrinal truth, and from this ground contested the symbolical system of doctrine of the other Churches, in order that, by the refutation of the contrary doctrine, the success of its own might be secured. Thus the Protestant Churches attack the Catholic; and so again, the Catholic Church attacks the Protestant; and so too, the Protestant sects attack one another. This controversial theology, the so-called *theologia polemica* or *elenchtica*, which chiefly engaged the attention of theology during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and called forth a multitude of writings in the three principal Churches, is to be regarded as the real mother of the Symbolics of the present. Very soon, indeed, especially in the Lutheran Church, there arose the necessity for elaborating the symbolical system of doctrine, not in an immediately polemical direction, but in a more positive form, for the purposes of ecclesiastical dogmatics. The dogmatics of the Protestant Churches was required to rest upon Holy Scripture and upon the symbols acknowledged by the Church. As now, in consequence of the elaboration of dogmatics, it became evident that the doctrinal proof passages must be treated separately (the beginnings of biblical theology), so also the symbolical system of doctrine had to be treated separately, as a preparative to dogmatics. From the Lutheran and Reformed Churches we have numerous writings, whose task it is to expound, partly in a historical way the origin, partly the doctrine, of the symbols of the one Church or the other. The tendency in these is always a specifically churchly one. Even if there be no direct polemic levelled at the other Churches, still the Church system of doctrine is maintained as absolute truth, and, after being quite identified with Christianity, it is offered as a support for the Church dogmatics. As, however, since the middle of the eighteenth century, opinion in the Church has been withdrawn more and more from the symbolical dogma, theology has come to maintain a freer attitude toward the doctrinal system of its own particular

Church. The desire had now arisen to obtain an insight upon historical lines into the significance of the doctrines which distinguish the Churches from one another, and to make use of this insight for theological science and Church life. The immediately ecclesiastical interest in the symbolical system of doctrine was exchanged for a historical interest. At this standpoint one gains the conviction that the symbolical system of doctrine of his own particular Church has itself many defects and imperfections. It is thus in a purely historical way placed alongside of the doctrinal system of other Churches, so that in this way it may be made easier for dogmatics to decide upon the doctrinal differences laid out to view. Thus, since the end of the last century, the so-called comparative view of Symbolics came into shape. The use of this method, however, does not aim at the development of the symbolical doctrine in its universality, but rather only those doctrines in which the principal Christian Churches, the Romish, the Lutheran, and the Reformed, differ from each other.

J. G. Planck, Abriss einer historischen und vergleichenden Darstellung der dogmatischen systeme unserer verschiedenen christlichen Hauptparteien, nach ihren Grundbegriffen, Unterscheidungslehren und practischen Folgen. Göttingen 1796. 3 Aufl. 1822. Ph. Marheineke, Christliche symbolik oder historisch-kritische und dogmatisch-comparative Darstellung des katholischen, lutherischen, reformirten und socinianischen Lehrbegriffs. Th. 1. Bd. 1–3. Heidelberg 1810–1813. (System des Katholicismus.) By the same author: Institutiones symbolicæ. Berol. 1812. Ed. 3, 1830. By the same author: Theologische Vorlesungen. Bd. 3. Christliche symbolik. Berlin 1848. G. B. Winer, Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchenparteien; nebst vollständigen Belegen aus den symbolischen Schriften derselben in der Ursprache. Leipzig 1824. 3 Aufl. bes. von Preuss. Berlin 1866. 4to. [English

translation: Confessions of Christendom. A Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the various Communities of Christendom, with Illustrations from their original standards. With Introduction by W. B. Pope. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873.] Ed. Köllner, Symbolik aller christlichen Confessionen. Bd. 1. Symbolik der lutherischen Kirche. Hamburg 1837. Bd. 2. Symbolik der katholischen Kirche. 1844. [Ph. Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom. 3 vols. London and New York 1877.]

This historical standpoint which was adopted for the exposition of Symbolics was irreconcilable with the standpoint of the Churches which emphasized doctrine, pre-eminently the Roman Catholic, whose symbolists could assume toward the doctrinal system of the other Churches only an attitude that was essentially polemical. Hence when in recent times, in consequence of the Union and the controversies occasioned by it, the confessional differences were again made prominent, Symbolics also assumed a confessional character. From the Roman Catholic side, it was put forth in the form of polemics against Protestantism. J. A. Möhler, Symbolik oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten. Mainz 1832. 7 Aufl. 1864. B. J. Hilgers, Symbolische Theologie oder die Lehrgegensätze des Katholicismus und Protestantismus. Bonn 1841. From the Lutheran side, the same tendency has been expressed. H. E. F. Guericke, Allgemeine Christliche Symbolik, vom lutherisch-kirchlichen Standpunkte. Leipzig 1839. 3 Aufl. 1861. A. G. Rudelbach, Reformation, Lutherthum und Union, eine historisch-dogmatische Apologie der lutherischen Kirche und ihres Lehrbegriffs. Leipzig 1839. In a more moderate confessional form: K. Matthes, Comparative Symbolik aller Christlichen Confessionen vom Standpunkt der evangelisch-lutherischen Confession. Leipzig 1854. G. Fr. Oehler, Lehrbuch der Symbolik. Herausgeg. von Joh. Delitzsch. Tübingen 1876.

The scientific treatment of Symbolics is only possible in the United Evangelical Church, into which Protestantism has been developed. By means of Protestant theology the Christian doctrines have been resolved into the form which has been given them in the symbols of the Church. Scientific Symbolics, therefore, cannot adopt the narrow confessional standpoint of a particular sect, but places itself in regard to doctrine at the standpoint of evangelical Christianity, and, inasmuch as the idea thereof agrees with the principles of the Reformation, at the Protestant standpoint. Hence it is neither indifferent to Church interests, nor indifferent to Church doctrine. Over against the doctrinal system of the non-Protestant Churches, it represents the universal Christian, Protestant idea, and takes a special interest in the Protestant doctrines, so far as they are the outcome of this idea, but it also, in a purely historical way, places the doctrinal tenets of the Confessions of the Reformation in their doctrinal form alongside of the doctrines of the other Churches. By means of this comparative statement, it just proves its interest in doctrine generally, since it supplies the rich doctrinal contents of the Church symbols to dogmatics, which has to maintain a steady connection between the doctrines given forth in a more spiritualized form and the life of the Church, and to present this for practical realization.

In the history of the treatment of Symbolics, we find two methods employed. According to the one method, the symbolical system of doctrine of each Church is treated separately; according to the other, the several doctrines of the various Churches are compared together. Each of those methods has its advantages and its disadvantages. It is desirable that the two should be combined, so that, after in the first division the origin of the symbols has been treated historically, the second doctrinal division may fall into two subdivisions, in the first of which the several doctrines may be treated comparatively, and in the second, the doctrinal

systems of the principal Churches may be laid down systematically in a brief outline.

The most important works of recent times on Symbolics are free from confessionalism, and are conceived in the spirit of Protestantism and the Union.

D. Schenkel, Das Wesen des Protestantismus, aus den Quellen des Reformationszeitalters dargestellt. 3 Bde. Schaffhausen 1846–1851. 2 Aufl. 2 Bde. 1862. A. Schweizer, Die protestantischen Centraldogmen in ihrer Entwickelung innerhalb der reformirten Kirche. 2 Thle. Zürich 1854, 1856. M. Schneckenburger, Vergleichende Darstellung des lutherischen und reformirten Lehrbegriffs, aus dessen handschriftlichen Nachlass zusammengestellt von E. Güder. 2 Thle. Stuttgart 1855. By the same author: Vorlesungen über die Lehrbegriffe der kleinern protestantischen Kirchenparteien, herausgeg. von K. B. Hundeshagen. Frankfurt 1863. H. Heppe, Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16 Jahrhundert. 2 Bde. Gotha 1857. R. Hoffmann, Symbolik oder systematische Darstellung des symbolischen Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen Christlichen Kirchen und namhaften Secten. Leipzig 1857. W. Böhmer, Die Lehrunterschiede der katholischen und evangelischen Kirchen. 2 Bde. Breslau 1857, 1863. K. Hase, Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik gegen die römisch-katholische Kirche. Leipzig 1862. 3 Aufl. 1871. 4 Aufl. 1878. A. Neander, Katholicismus und Protestantismus, herausgeg. von H. Messner. Berlin 1863. W. Gass, Symbolik der griechischen Kirche. Berlin 1872.

7. PATRISTICS.—There have been in all the centuries prominent men in the Church, who represented the highest ecclesiastical culture of their age, and exercised a commanding influence upon the construction of the Church institutions of their times. The History of Doctrines and

Symbolics, which proceed genetically, and ought to take into consideration all the spiritual agencies which co-operate in the formation of a dogma or its definite symbolical elaboration, have a special interest in seeking to acquire a more exact knowledge of the life, the studies, the system, and the writings of such men as have won an important place in Church history. To impart this knowledge is the task of the so-called Patristics. This branch of study is, therefore, first of all, an important auxiliary science to the History of Doctrines and Symbolics. At the same time, however, it is of importance for Church history generally, and so should be regarded as an auxiliary science to Church history as a whole. But in order to perform what it should, it must be emancipated from the limits within which it has hitherto been confined. This study gets the name Patristics from the *patres ecclesiæ*. Among these, a threefold distinction is made. The *patres apostolici* are those who, in the first and second centuries, stand in close proximity to the apostolic age. In immediately following centuries, there are the Church Fathers proper, the *patres*, who have directly contributed to the construction of the Church doctrine, and whose orthodoxy has never been questioned in the Catholic Church. Then finally, we have the mere Church writers, *scriptores ecclesiastici*, who indeed have also secured a reputation for themselves in the Church by their theological writings, but have incurred suspicion as to their orthodoxy. In regard to the period to which the authority of Church Fathers extends, the Catholic and Protestant Churches differ. The latter, generally speaking, acknowledge only the first six centuries as the period of the construction of doctrine; after this time the deterioration of the ecclesiastical system begins through Romish-papistical influence. Protestantism, therefore, concludes the series of Church Fathers with the sixth century. The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, extends the period down to the thirteenth century, but distinguishes the scholastic theologians

as mere Church teachers, *doctores ecclesiæ*, from the Fathers proper, the *patres ecclesiæ*. In accordance with the principle of tradition, which the Roman Catholic Church professes, the *patres* assume in it an extraordinarily high position. They are described as *luminaria, primates, sancti, patres ecclesiæ*, and a normative significance is assigned to the exegetical and dogmatical *consensus patrum*. Even the Protestant Church, although it repudiates the Roman Catholic notion of tradition, recognised in the Church Fathers, by whose elaboration the pure Catholic doctrine originated, the ecclesiastical classics so to say, to whom there should be ascribed, if not a normative, yet at least a historical, authority. Thus Patristics sprang up, and in both Churches was limited to the *patres ecclesiæ*. The Roman Catholic Church may by its principles be obliged to observe those limits, but according to the Protestant principle, Christian theology should here take up, instead of the dogmatical, the purely historical, point of view. To the Fathers, as men of creative productivity, a certain churchly classic dignity can be properly ascribed, but even after the patristic age the Christian spirit has uninterruptedly continued working in the Church, and in every century men arise, whose writings for their age may raise a claim to the dignity of Church classics. At the historical standpoint no reason can be given why Luther and Calvin should not stand alongside of Augustine, why Schleiermacher should be less esteemed than Origen and Chrysostom. Scientific Patristics, therefore, cannot limit itself to the *patres ecclesiæ* of one period, say down to the end of the sixth century, but must extend its treatment proportionally to all *patres ecclesiæ*. It must treat of the life, doctrine, and writings of all theologians who have had a determining influence on the configuration of the Church and the construction of doctrine, and must thus expand itself into a general history of theology.[1] It will be

[1] Pelt in his Encyclopädie, p. 356 ff., and also J. P. Lange in his Encyclopädie, insist upon this wide conception of Patristics.

necessary to limit the vast range which this branch embraces, by confining attention to the leading representatives of a particular century, who have ordinarily been regarded as the founders and leaders of certain theological schools or tendencies. Hence, while Patristics takes its general distribution from the three great periods of Church history, it will also have, within the limits of each of those periods, its own special division according to time and contents. Conducted in accordance with this method, Patristics will be able to present a vivid picture of the theological efforts and labours of each period, and will in this way assist the Church historian in his work, while in a special way it will make it possible for the historian of doctrines and the symbolist to obtain as it were a fundamental view of the development of the doctrines.

When particular aspects of Patristics are attended to, as the life of the *patres*, we have ecclesiastical biography, to which the name Patrology has been given by some theologians. In recent times, numerous biographical monographs on particular Church Fathers have been produced. Neander and his school have rendered special service in this department. The history of theological literature has its origin in the peculiar interest taken in the writings of the Church Fathers. Hitherto this has been connected almost exclusively with the patristic age, and has expended its energies, partly in the critical examination and editing of the writings of the Church Fathers, partly in the publication of extracts from them, the so-called patristic Chrestomathies, which serve as an introduction to the study of the Church Fathers. This field has been most zealously wrought in the Catholic Church, especially by the Benedictines, and most laboriously by the *congregatio S. Mauri.* Both ecclesiastical biography and the history of theological literature must contribute to Patristics, if it be understood in the wide sense that has been assigned to it.

The following are complete editions and extracts :—Maxima

bibliotheca vett. patrum. Lugd. 1677 sq. 28 T. f. And. Gallandii bibliotheca vett. patrum. Venet. 1765–1781. 14 T. f. J. B. Migne, Patrologiæ cursus completus s. bibliotheca universalis ss. patrum scriptorumque eccl. Paris 1844–1857. Corpus scriptorum eccl. latinorum ed. consilio et impensis academiæ literarum Cæsareæ Vindobon. Vols. 1–4. Vindobonæ 1866–1875. C. F. Rösler, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter in Uebersetzungen und Auszügen aus ihren vorhehmsten, besonders dogmatischen Schriften. 10 Bde. Leipzig 1776–1786. J. Ch. W. Augusti, Chrestomathia patristica ad usum eorum, qui historiam christianam accuratius dicere cupiunt. 2 voll. Lips. 1812. J. C. Thilo, Bibliotheca patrum græcorum dogmatica. 2 voll. Lips. 1854, 1855. Fr. Oehler, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, eine Auswahl aus deren Werken. Bd. 1–4. Leipzig 1859. [Ante-Nicene Christian Library. A Collection of all the Works of the Fathers of the Christian Church prior to the Council of Nicæa. 24 vols. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1867–1872.] Corpus reformatorum ed. C. G. Bretschneider. Vols. 1–28. Melancthon. Opp. Vols. 29–47. J. Calvini Opp. Halis et Brunsv. 1834–1879. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformirten Kirche. Eingeleitet von K. R. Hagenbach. Bd. 1–10. Elberfeld 1857–1862. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der lutherischen Kirche. Eingeleitet von K. J. Nitzsch. Th. 1–8. Elberfeld 1861–1875.

The following are contributions to a general system of Patristics:—J. G. Walch, Bibliotheca patristica. Jenæ 1770. Ed. n. cur. J. T. L. Danz. Jenæ 1834. G. Lumper, Historia theologico-critica de vita, scriptis atque doctrina s. patrum aliorumque script. eccles. trium prim. sæcul. 13 T. 8. Aug. 1784–1797. C. T. G. Schönemann, Bibliotheca historico-literaria patrum latin. 2 voll. Lips. 1792–1794. V. A. Winter, Patrologie. München 1815. J. G. B. Engelhardt, Literärischer Leitfaden zu Vorlesungen

ueber die Patristik. Erlangen 1823. F. W. Goldwitzer, Bibliographie der Kirchenväter und Kirchenlehrer vom 1 bis zum 13 Jahrhundert. Landshut 1828. J. A. Möhler, Patrologie, herausgeg. von Reithmayr. Regensburg 1839. J. Fessler, Institutiones patrologicæ. Oenip. 1850. J. Alzog, Grundriss der Patrologie oder der ältesten christlichen Literärgeschichte. Freiburg 1866. 2 Aufl. 1869. [3 Aufl. 1876.] F. Böhringer, Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen, oder die Kirchengeschichte in Biographien. 2 Bde. Zürich 1842–1858. Neue Aufl. 1861–1869. Ch. W. Flügge, Versuch einer Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften. 3 Bde. Halle 1796–1798. C. F. Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften seit der Verbreitung der alten Literatur. 2 Bde. Göttingen 1810, 1811. [J. Donaldson, A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. 3 vols. London 1864–1866.] The works referred to under § 18 by Gass, Frank, and Dorner should be consulted here; also K. Werner, Geschichte der katholischen Theologie. München 1866.

8. STATISTICS.—From those branches of Church history hitherto discussed, which have for their subject particular aspects of the life of the Church, Statistics is distinguished by its contemplating the Church system in its totality, while it is also distinguished from Church history, by presenting to view the aspect which the Church wears in the present, in consequence of the historical development through which it has passed. Ecclesiastical Statistics is the representation of the present condition of the Church. It therefore comes in at the close of Church history, and seeks to gather together in one picture, what Church history presents separately. Church history does not present to Statistics the Church condition in one comprehensive aspect, but in the manifold and various formations, in which the Christian life has given itself a

characteristic expression. Therefore the various denominations, into which up to the present time Christianity has developed, constitute the subject of ecclesiastical Statistics. Each one of these has wrought out in its own peculiar way the particular aspects of the Church life. Statistics will, therefore, be obliged to consider each of them according to that which is characteristic of it, in order to reach a general result in regard to the development of the Church down to the present. As ecclesiastical Statistics, it is the statistics of a spiritual organism, which in its historical expansion has been determined, by various outward influences indeed, but essentially by its own inherent idea. It is not, therefore, to be satisfied with a mere external report, but, just as the Church historian views the whole course of the Church's development from the idea of the Church, and all the aspects of Church life in their organic co-action, so must also the statistician represent each Church as an organic whole from an ideal standpoint, and take as his standard the idea of the Church, in order, from the consideration of the several Churches, to gain the result in reference to the present condition of the Church in its totality.

As the most recent branch of theological science, imported into theology by Schleiermacher, Statistics has scarcely as yet secured to itself any fixed method. In accordance with its task, it seems to be required to treat its materials under a special and a general division. And further, inasmuch as the general results can be won only by a consideration of the separate denominations, it will be necessary to treat first of the special part, and afterwards of the general part. The distribution of the special part, however, is not a geographical scheme external to the subject, but has the confessional diversity as its basis. From this point of view, two groups of Churches present themselves for the distribution of the materials: the Eastern Church, as the Greek, Constantinopolitan, and Russian Orthodox Church, together with the smaller

communities that have come down to the present from the old Eastern Church; and the Western Church, as the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, the latter, as the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Evangelical Churches, together with the smaller Church sects existing before the Reformation, related to Protestantism, and issuing from the principal Protestant Churches. Each of these Churches is to be described according to its geographical extension, with reference to the local and national conditions of its existence, according to the relation in which it stands to its original system of doctrine, and according to the particular cast of its theology, according to its constitution in relation to the Church and the State, according to its form of worship, as that affects the Church life in respect of the position and culture of the clergy, and according to the state of Christian morality, and the attitude assumed toward general and secular culture.

From this comprehensive characterization of all particular Churches, and the comparison of the various Church systems, the statistical results in regard to the general condition of the Church in the present, are to be drawn in the second part from an ideal-churchly point of view. The spread of Christianity from place to place, the interest taken by the several Churches in missionary activity, the relation of Christianity to non-Christian religious communities, the attitude of the different Churches to one another, whether in respect of growing estrangement or of mutual approximation, the present validity of the symbolical doctrine in the various Churches, the formation of theological science, the construction of the constitution and forms of worship, Christian culture as a general historical fact in relation to the life of culture outside of the Churches, —all these particulars, as conditions actually existing, have to be gathered together by Statistics into one comprehensive picture, showing the present condition of the Church as a whole. As its highest result, Statistics has vividly to show in how far, by means of the previous development of Church

history, the kingdom of God has attained extensively and intensively unto historical realization.

While Statistics receives its materials chiefly from Church history, it is itself again (since the ecclesiastical present, which it describes, is always in the course of becoming the past) a preparation for the Church history of the latest period. Statistics, however, as a scientific representation of the present condition of the Church, is of still greater importance for practical theology, as, from its record of the actual condition of the Church, the most valuable information for the theory of practical theology is obtained. Besides general Statistics, the separate confessional and national Churches may also be statistically described. These special Statistics form an important aid to general Statistics. Especially those records of travel, in which particular attention is paid to the ecclesiastical condition of the several countries, as well as Church newspapers and theological journals, which are issued by most of the Churches, are useful for this purpose.

The following works on the Eastern Church deserve to be mentioned:—Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande, herausgeg. von W. Hoffmann und F. A. Strauss. Berlin 1857–1867. Silbernagel, Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sämmtlicher Kirchen des Orients. 1865.

On the Western Church consult the following works:—Karl von H. Aloys, Statistisches Jahrbuch der Kirche oder gegenwärtiger Bestand des gesammten Katholischen Erdkreises. Regensburg 1860. St. J. Neher, Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik, oder Darstellung des heutigen Zustandes der Katholischen Kirche mit steter Rücksicht auf die frühern Zeiten und im Hinblick auf die Andern Religionsgemeinschaften. Abth. 1. Die europäischen Kirchenprovinzen. Regensburg 1864.

On the Evangelical Church there are the following:—J. C. W. Augusti, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Statistik der

evangelischen Kirche. Leipzig 1837, 1838. D. Schenkel, Die gegenwärtige Lage der protestantischen Kirche in Preussen und Deutschland. Mannheim 1867. H. Kritzler, Die deutsche evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart. Gotha 1869.

Records of travels by Niemeyer, Fleck, Fliedner, Kniewel. Statistical reports on the ecclesiastical condition of various countries; by Pflanz, Reuchlin, and Gelzer, on France; by Witte on Italy; by Finsler on Switzerland; by Hornyanski on the Evangelical Church of Austria; by Augusti and Köhler on the Netherlands; by Sack, Uhden, Sydow, Gemberg, Köstlin, Rudloff, on England; by Schubert on Sweden; by Haxthausen on Russia; by Baird, Löher, Wimmer, Busch, Rey, and Schaff, on North America.

General Statistics has hitherto had little attention paid it. C. F. Stäudlin, Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik. 2 Bde. Tübingen 1804. J. Wiggers, Kirchliche Statistik oder Darstellung der gesammten Christlichen Kirche nach ihrem gegenwärtigen äussern und innern Zustande. 2 Bde. Hamburg 1842, 1843. A. de Mestral, Tableaux de l'église chrétienne au dix-huitième siècle. Lausanne 1870.

THIRD DIVISION.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

§ 40. INTRODUCTION TO AND DISTRIBUTION OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SYSTEMATIC theology, the actual product of the ecclesiastical present, has for its foundation the results of exegetical theology and Church history. Next to exegetical theology, the history of biblical religion is of principal importance for systematics, which has to derive from this history, not only special pieces of information, but its very subject-matter. Christianity in its historical originality, as it is set forth in the history of a biblical religion, is the idea of Christianity,—objectively, spiritual and living fellowship with God realized in Christ; subjectively, the faith which has appropriated Christ or the religious idea realized in Him. This positive idea of religion, not the idea of religion in a philosophical system, or in a subjective Church experience, forms the essential contents of systematic theology. It stands, therefore, throughout on Church ground; for faith, which it has for its subject, is the principle of life from which all Church formation proceeds. In the Church development of faith, the endeavour after deeper insight and certainty in regard to the content of its faith asserts itself from the first in the interest of the Christian spirit, along with the other manifestations thereof. Out of πίστις was born γνῶσις, which with

its reflections dived deeper into the contents of faith, and gave expression to its acquirements in the form of dogmatic propositions or doctrines systematically arranged. This spiritual activity makes its appearance already in apostolic Christianity, and was continued in apologetics, in Gnosticism, in the doctrinal writings of the Church Fathers, and in the symbolical formularies of the Church, so that, in a multitude of definitions, the Christian faith was developed into a regular dogmatic system. On account of the different conceptions of doctrine, the one Christian Church was broken up into different ecclesiastical communions; and these, again, in their separation gave to the content of faith a many-sided elaboration, which has been laid down, partly in complete confessional writings, partly in systematic treatises. This dogmatic Christianity, in the impression which it makes upon history, is of the greatest importance for systematic theology. From Church history, therefore, systematic theology has to take the history of doctrines and symbolics, as sciences pre-eminently helpful. The historical dogma embraces a complete circle of acquirements which have been won by means of spiritual work continued during centuries, and contributes to systematic theology a spiritual experience on its subject, by means of which it will be essentially furthered in its own treatment thereof. This relationship with the historical treatment of doctrines into which systematic theology has entered, inasmuch as these doctrines, while they issue from faith, are yet always only historically determined reflections on faith, shows immediately that faith and dogmatic Christianity are not to be confounded, that rather between the two there is an essential distinction, and that only faith in its ideality, and not dogma, constitutes the essence of Christianity. To emphasize this distinction is not superfluous at a time when some are inclined, to the disadvantage of Christianity, to identify dogmatic Christianity with the Christian faith, a proceeding which, if excusable in the philosopher Hartmann, is scarcely so in the theologian

Strauss. Systematic theology has thus for its subject, not a complex of dogmas, such as the symbolical system of any particular denomination, but rather, in systematic theology, the Christian faith turns from its historical development back upon itself. It alone forms itself the subject of systematic theology, while the historical dogma can be turned to account by it only as the criticism of an underlying object of experience. On the basis of the historical dogma, systematic theology has to acknowledge the Christian faith as its religio-ethical content, and has to prove itself, by means of the execution of this task, to be the scientifically grounded Christian self-consciousness of the present. It does not win its systematic character by giving a didactic form and logical connection to the utterances of the believing consciousness, and, by means of this formal treatment, leading to subjective knowledge; nor yet does it win this character from the fact that what it expounds is Christian, but rather from this, that from an empirical manifoldness, in which faith appears as a doctrinal system, it rises to the consideration of the Christian idea as such, and expounds the whole content of that idea according to a definite principle, in a strictly connected manner and in its objective truth, that is, systematically. It should not only point out what is Christian, but should advance proof to show that what is Christian is also objectively true. In systematic theology, speculative thinking, which penetrates into the very nature of the subject itself and seeks to know it in its rationality and universal validity, must be joined with the formal logical process of thought, by means of which exegetical theology and Church history win their knowledge. In so far as systematic theology, or better, speculative theology, by means of a rational process of thought, proves the Christian faith to be absolute religious truth, the highest end aimed at by theology is reached, which is nothing else than to give to the Christian spirit the full assurance of its faith, and generally, at once to legitimize Christianity

before the tribunal of the reason, and to ground the absolute right of the position assigned it in the Church over against all the other sciences. Systematic theology is the completion of theological science. Its theoretical significance answers to its practical significance for the Church. While it represents the Christian faith in its ideality, living influences will issue from it unto all spheres of Church life. Through its demonstration of the truths of faith, it emphatically raises to a scientifically effected certainty, the immediate assurance that the Church possesses in its faith the most perfect religion. Upon that presupposition, indeed, the Church as such might be at ease; but, from within and from without, by the members of the Church itself as well as by other religious communities and philosophical schools, the presupposition is contested. Against such attacks systematic theology brings forward the authoritative decisions of the Church: it composes the differences which within its own domain have arisen in regard to its continuance, and also outwardly establishes its authority. Theology as a whole, with all its principal divisions, has indeed to afford a demonstration of the truth of the faith of the Church, but the demonstrations of exegetical, historical, and practical theology, obtain their demonstrative power from the demonstration, which systematic theology has elaborated by a rational process from the nature of the human mind itself. The Christian religion is the absolutely true religion, because it alone is the religion which answers to the demands of the human spirit, and only because it is this, has it on its first appearance obtained the victory over the other religions, historically penetrated the life of many nations, and gained for itself, in all coming time, the firmest footing in everyday life.

In its general and in its special forms, the division of systematic theology is determined by its subject. Inasmuch as systematic theology has Christianity according to its essential contents, that is, as religion, for its subject, its task embraces religion in general. The treatment of the particular

religion must extend to religion in general, since the Christian religion has part in the general idea of religion, and in its speciality can be rightly known only if it be considered upon the general domain of religion. Hence we have as the first branch of systematic theology a general view of the nature of religion, in which the various manifestations of religion, the historical religions in their relation to one another, and the Christian religion as such according to the principal phases of its development, are set forth. This first branch of systematic theology is to be entitled in respect of its subject—The Theory of Religion. Under this section we have to treat what was formerly known as Introduction or Prolegomena to dogmatics. In these Prolegomena, religion, the various forms of religion, the Christian revelation, the criteria of revelation, Holy Scripture, the relation of reason to revelation, and such like questions, were discussed, but in a more sporadic fashion after a merely consuetudinary method, without any clear consciousness of the systematic importance of these preliminaries to dogmatics, and without a strictly scientific reference to ultimate principles.[1] Rosenkranz, Pelt, and Hagenbach, in their Encyclopædias, insist upon having, in place of this Introduction, a distinct branch, which should precede dogmatics. The *Theogonic Phenomenology*, however, which Rosenkranz prefixes to dogmatics, as a branch of the philosophy of religion, does not belong to the positive science of theology. The *Fundamental Doctrine* of Pelt, which as apologetics or the system of theological principles, has to prove the truth of Christianity,—the task which Hagenbach too assigns to apologetics,—is not a system of principles for dogmatics, but assumes the task of dogmatics itself. The theory of religion, as a fundamental branch of systematic

[1] L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius, Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik. Leipzig 1820. F. Fischer, Zur Einleitung in die Dogmatik der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche. Tübingen 1828. F. H. Th. Alihn, Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik nach den neuesten wissenschaftlichen Forschungen. Leipzig 1837.

theology, has to bring into a scientific form, according to a definite plan, the scattered and unconnected matters preliminary to dogmatics, and has to set for itself the task of psychologically establishing the historical facts of religion, exhibiting Christianity as the ideal in relation to the other religions, and, on the basis of its historical development, laying down the principles of dogmatics and ethics. It should be a system of principles, like that which Biedermann and Lipsius have prefixed to their dogmatics as a first part. If the admission of this branch into the organism of theology be scientifically justified by the fact that it is demanded by the very subject of systematic theology, the importance and necessity thereof come yet more evidently into view, if certain phenomena of the present be taken into consideration. In the general part of this work, § 18, attention was called to the deep-rooted destructive tendencies which have made their appearance in the most recent times, and are concentrated in the so-called Pananthropologism, and the Socialism and Materialism springing out of it. This doctrine of the autonomy of man maintains a negative attitude toward religion generally, since it proscribes religion as a mere delusion of human life, a negation, in which also the most radical negation of Christianity and of the Christian Church is included. In the face of those movements of the age, systematic theology must necessarily fall back upon ultimate principles. The more radical, on the other hand, the negation is, the deeper must the roots of its system be grounded and the more vigorously must systematic theology emphasize its subject. This it does in its first branch, in the theory of religion, in which it shows that religion is not an illusion from which mankind has to be emancipated, but the fundamental element of human nature, which must continue approved by men, if they are not to fall under the grossest superstition and the most degraded sensuality. If this foundation be established, then the Christian religion rests upon it, and objections

to Christianity will become mere phantom objections. By its further leading of proof, systematic theology demonstrates that these objections do not and cannot affect the being of the Christian religion, but always only particular formations of Christianity, separate religions or ecclesiastical aberrations, which can and must be contested, without thereby destroying Christianity and the Christian Church. Hence, while the theory of religion, viewed from a purely scientific point and apart from all fortuitous phenomena, is the peculiarly fundamental branch of systematic theology, it is of supreme importance as supplying principles for the checking of those destructive tendencies.

The idea of Christianity established in the theory of religion is the subject of the subsequent branches of systematic theology, the distribution of which is determined by the developed conception of religion. Religion is an immediate expression of man's spiritual life, and as such is a function both of knowledge and of will. Those two elements, the theoretical and the practical, are combined in religion in undistinguishable unity. As the religious man knows, so also he acts. The content of his knowledge impresses itself in a purely immediate way upon his actions, so that there is no chasm, no separation between the two caused by reflection. This is true of the Christian religion. It also is an immediate expression of the spiritual life. Those two formal characteristics are in Christianity most intimately bound together, inasmuch as it is fellowship of spirit and life with God. But if religion is to be made the subject of reflection and scientific knowledge, these two elements must be sundered, and each separately must be made the subject of scientific treatment. If, therefore, the Christian religion is to be understood according to the full range of its idea, its theoretical side, or the peculiar content of Christian knowledge, must first be considered. This is done in dogmatics. It is the scientific exposition of fellowship with God in the spirit, or of the

relation in which the Christian knows himself to stand toward God, and has to develop all the endlessly rich references which lie in the reciprocity of this relationship. The other principal element, the practical side of the Christian religion, pertains to ethics. It is the scientific exposition of fellowship with God in the life, or of the Christian determination of the will according to its manifold influences upon personal morality and all the institutions of human life from the family to the State, and the relation of States to one another.

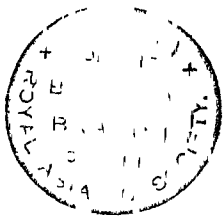
While then science separates and treats apart from one another the two elements, which in religion are inseparably united together, the unity of the two elements present in religion as in actual life must also necessarily be shown in the scientific treatment. Dogmatics and ethics stand in the closest connection with one another. The latter is essentially embraced in the former. The consciousness which the Christian has of his relationship to God forms also the basis for his determinations of will: his Christian knowledge is the norm of his Christian conduct. Although now it is customary in theology to treat dogmatics and ethics separately, ethics was formerly almost wholly discussed under dogmatics. The Churches specially interested in doctrine had less concern about the moral content of Christianity, than about dogma. While the dogmas were elaborated with the greatest subtilty and tenaciously adhered to as ecclesiastical statutes, it was only casually, at places where opportunity was afforded, that care was taken in dogmatics to indicate the connection in which a dogma stands to Christian conduct. In this there was at least this advantage, that the ethical department was not dominated, as the dogmatic was, by the legal spirit. Ethics, however, could never, under such treatment, have full justice done to it. In the Protestant Church, Lambert Danæus, in the sixteenth century, was the first in the Reformed Church, and George Calixtus, in the seventeenth century, was the first in the Lutheran Church, who discussed ethics

systematically apart from dogmatics. Proper and necessary as this was, if ethics were to receive scientific elaboration, still the separation now led sometimes to the severing of the connection between Christian ethics and dogmatics, and to the substitution of a general system of philosophical ethics. The most decided opposition must be offered to such a procedure, and it must be remembered, that between dogmatics and ethics that connection has to be maintained, which they had originally with one another. It is, therefore, very helpful to the retaining in theology the consciousness of this connection, when the two are sometimes regarded as one mutually inclusive whole, as in recent times has been declared desirable by Schleiermacher in his Encyclopädie, § 231, and as Nitzsch and Beck have wrought out, each in his own special way.[1] To the psychological foundation of religion, which the first branch of systematic theology yields, the metaphysical substructure has to be added in dogmatics from the idea of Christianity. But inasmuch as the Christian faith as religion is an immediate spiritual life, systematic theology with all its demonstrations cannot prove it, but can only confirm it, and certify it as objective religious truth or the ideal religion.

Besides the three branches of systematic theology that have been enumerated, there are other three branches, apologetics, polemics, irenics, and in regard to their relationship to systematic theology considerable uncertainty even yet prevails. While Pelt (Encyclop. S. 377 ff.) and Hagenbach (Encyclop. S. 320, Engl. transl. p. 403) view apologetics as the branch of systematic theology in which the foundations are laid, and J. P. Lange (Encyclop. S. 170) assigns it its place under his philosophical dogmatics, Pelt quite overlooks polemics and

[1] C. J. Nitzsch, System der christlichen Lehre, für akademische Vorlesungen. Bonn 1831. 6 Aufl. 1851. [English translation: System of Christian Doctrine. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1849. From 5th German edition.] J. T. Beck, Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre. Stuttgart 1838. By same author: Die christliche Lehrwissenschaft nach den biblischen Urkunden. Stuttgart 1840.

irenics; Hagenbach, on the other hand (S. 328. Engl. transl. p. 414), refuses to regard them as separate branches of theological study, but considers them simply special adjuncts to dogmatic science, and J. P. Lange (S. 188) reckons them as constituent parts of his *Applied Dogmatics*. If now the task of systematic theology with its three branches is conceived of in the way indicated, the relation of apologetics, polemics, and irenics to systematic theology may also be determined. All these three branches are directed, not to the Christian faith as such for the purpose of attaining a theoretical acquaintance therewith, but generally to the whole institution of the Church. They employ the theoretical knowledge for practical ends, which are marked out for them by the varying occurrences of history. Now systematic theology, with its three branches, as the pure theory of the Christian faith, is at once in principle apologetical, polemical, and irenical. Hence these three branches have to take their principles from systematic theology, and to make application of these to particular historical circumstances. Their task, therefore, is not so much theoretical, as practical. They cannot be regarded, either as branches of systematic theology, or even as independent theological branches, and must find their place under practical theology.



§ 41. THE THEORY OF RELIGION.

The history of religion represents religion as a universal historical fact in the life of the nations, and even in the life of the several nations, not only as an isolated phenomenon coming to light here and there, but as a force penetrating and perpetually determining the whole life of the people. In accordance with this historical treatment of religion, Christianity is also included in this fact. For theology, which consists in the faith of the Church, and for the recognition of religion and Christianity, the universality of the fact and the circumstance that Christianity appears in relation to the other religions the most perfect, and by its historical development approves itself as such, are of the highest importance. Facts, however, cannot on the sole ground of their being historical, advance an absolute claim to recognition. As science theology has to answer the question, whether the historical religious phenomenon is merely fortuitous, whether religion is simply a dark shadow that falls upon the life of the nations, which must be overcome by proper enlightenment, therefore a merely transitory appearance, or a necessary element in the historical life of mankind. The answer to this question is given by the theory of religion. It has to discuss (1) The Nature of Religion, and (2) The Historical Development of Religion.

First Division—The Nature of Religion.—Religion makes its appearance historically as an utterance of man's spiritual life. In order to come to know about the nature of religion, we must proceed genetically, that is, we must go back to the origin of religion. Some have sought to derive religion from a contrivance of the priests, or a subtle device of statesmen, in order to secure the credulous multitude to their own purposes, or to get a hold upon the

ungovernable masses by means of certain terrors, or else from immediate external revelations which impose supernatural limits upon rude sensuality. If in such a way, by deceit, persuasion, constraint, or any mere external communication, religion has come to mankind, then would those be right who regard it as a human illusion, a historical abnormality or aberration, and they would have prospect of success in their exterminating war against religion. However, apart from the fact that those derivations are by no means historically proved, they are discredited chiefly by the universality of religion as a historical fact. More in accordance with the truth, is the view of those who derive religion from the fear of man in the presence of the mighty forces of nature surrounding him, or from his admiration and astonishment at the beauty, magnificence, and harmony of the universe around him. In this view, there is at least adopted a principle derived from man's own inner life, with which he comes to meet the force operating upon him from without. Nevertheless this does not explain the origin of religion. That man is capable of such impressions, that those feelings of fear, astonishment, and admiration assume in him the character of religious feelings, requires the presupposition of a religious disposition already belonging to him. We have, therefore, to fall back upon the nature of man himself, and to show therein the birthplace of the religious life of mankind. If, then, religion has not come to man from without and in a merely fortuitous manner, but is grounded in what is innermost in his nature, so that he cannot rid himself of it without giving up what is most essential to his own being, the struggle against it is a struggle against human nature itself, and the attempt to banish religion from human life is *à priori* doomed to failure.

The psychological discussion, which the theory of religion demands, is not of a religio-philosophical character. While the philosophy of religion seeks by the psychological establishment of religion to attain at the same time unto the idea

of religion,[1] the theory of religion occupies purely historical ground. The whole of the historical religions are the medium through which the conception of religion is conveyed to it. From the many particular religions, it has to abstract the universal notion of religion, which in its universality must be applicable to all the particular religions. According to its historical conception, religion is generally a relation of reciprocity between man and God or a mutual connection between man and God. The idea of God has in it yet no special character, but only that general one, which it receives by being distinguished from the idea of man. It describes God generally as superior to man, as the superhuman power. The task of the theory of religion, therefore, amounts to this, the representing of religion, according to this general conception of it derived from its history, as grounded in human nature itself, and then further, the developing psychologically of the principal elements, which are peculiar to each historical religion. Inasmuch, then, as the theory of religion has to expound the general nature of religion, which appears again in each particular religion, it must not adopt in its treatment the standpoint of a philosophical idea of religion, or that of a particular religion, even the Christian, and it must watch against being influenced in its exposition by philosophical or Christian theories, which do not belong to the universal essence of religion, such as are indicated by the terms,— the Absolute, the Universe, the Infinite, the Eternal, final Causality, Theory of the World.[2]

It is now generally acknowledged from the theological and

[1] So quite properly O. Pfleiderer proceeds in his Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage, Berlin 1878, S. 255 ff., and marks out the way upon which theology and philosophy must meet together, inasmuch as the philosophy of religion reaches the result, that it can find nothing higher than the Christian religion. [Compare also, Fairbairn, Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History. London 1876. Caird, Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion. Glasgow 1880. Especially p. 314 ff.]

[2] The excellent psychological part in the Dogmatik of Lipsius, § 16 ff., would have been clearer had the author paid more attention to this.

from the philosophical side, that it is the task of the philosophy of religion to exhibit psychologically the origin of religion. Biedermann and Lipsius in their Dogmatics, and Pfleiderer in his Philosophy of Religion, proceed, in the part that treats of principles, from the psychological grounding of religion. Practically too they are agreed, inasmuch as they explain the origin of religion from the antithesis of freedom and necessity. The essential nature of man, says Pfleiderer (Religionsphilosophie, S. 256), consists in this, that his consciousness parts into two in the antithesis of self-consciousness and world-consciousness. Therewith arises for man the antithesis of freedom and necessity, a contradiction for which, neither in himself nor in the world, he can find reconciliation, so that he must rise to a third being, higher than self and the world, as the unity of the antithesis, that is, to God.

Looking away from the substantial definition which is given of the relation of man to God, and contemplating this relation only in the abstract, its origin, of which alone we here treat, does not seem to be sufficiently explained. If it be the world-limit, with which man comes in contact, and which forces him to rise to the idea of dependence upon God, in order that he may assert his freedom over against the world, then the relation to God, instead of being derived from man's own nature, is rather impressed on him from without. A principle which would thus determine man to betake himself to dependence upon a higher power is not to be admitted, because, on the contrary, the self-conscious free man, that is presupposed, must find in the consciousness of his freedom the occasion for seeking help against the world-limit, not in some third being, but rather in himself. Whence then, it must be asked, is the longing of the heart after the highest and uninterruptedly free existence to be derived? (Comp. Pfleiderer, Religionsphilosophie, S. 322.) Further, it is not to be overlooked that man, although he has risen to the conception of God as his saviour and deliverer from the *world-*

necessity, has reached this only to enter into opposition with this God. In so far as religion is concerned, far more importance is attached to the reality and reconciliation of this opposition, than to the opposition of world and man, and its reconciliation.[1]

If the origin of Christianity is to be psychologically explained, there must be a careful examination of the essential basis of human nature.[2] The special characteristic of man is the Ego-consciousness, that is, the consciousness of the unity of all the elements and functions of his spiritual and intellectual life. This, as an immediate feeling, never altogether lost, rests in the depths of the heart of every man. Whatever oppositions and contradictions may enter into and agitate the human spirit, whatever conflicts man has to undergo with himself and with the outer world, always and everywhere the consciousness of the unity of his spiritual life, or his Ego-consciousness, accompanies him. But, at the same time, with this there is immediately joined the consciousness that it is not he himself who is the principle of his personality, of the unity of his spiritual life, that rather a higher power has constituted the various elements of his life into a spiritual unity. The immediate feeling of his personality is also immediately a religious feeling, and rests as such in the depths of the human heart. The form for this feeling is the religious conscience, which, as religious, has for its contents the immediate certainty of a divine destination. The conscience is not a special organ for religion, but a product of religion, which never abandons man any more than the feeling of his personality. Upon the firm relationship into which

[1] Very excellently Lipsius remarks, Dogmatik, S. 163: "An inner necessity of his own spiritual life leads man to God, and only because he finds God in himself does he find Him also in the outward world." But at S. 20 f. he derives the origin of religion from the conflict of necessity and freedom, and religion itself from a complicated reflection thereon. Therefore man does not find God in himself, but is led to Him through the outer world. But it just amounts to this, that we have to explain the necessary idea of causality psychologically.

[2] Compare Noack, Die speculative Religionwissenschaft, S. 73 ff.

the human Ego brings the unity of his nature with its divine principle, the harmony of the spiritual life of man rests. Thus, psychologically considered, religion points back to a revelation of God in the human Ego, and to a free relation of man to God. The innate feeling in man of dependence upon a higher being transcending him is the objective and subjective ground of religion. In respect of its origin, religion is a relation of man to God implanted by God in human nature. The historical universality of the belief in God is thereby explained, and also the circumstance that all historical religions have the consciousness that they owe their origin, not to a human, but to a divine operation. The revelation of God is not merely a human imagination, but a reality in human nature, and creates in it not merely an inclination toward religion, but a germ of divine life which as a real power develops itself out from and in the spiritual life of man. This presence of God seated in the heart of man and necessary to the actual existence of the Ego, this innate being of God in the Ego, is the eternal and universal fact of the divine revelation in mankind, and on this fact is religion eternally established. The orthodox dogmatic, the outward and mechanically conceived notion of revelation and of the positivity of religion is to be led back to this: God the eternal principle of religion, human nature the ground of its development. The inner revelation is man's latent consciousness of God, which, in close contact with the equally real outward revelation of God in nature and history, is developed into conscious clearness. Hence man regarded as a mere existence is religious. In a state of utter rudeness and savagery, he can never altogether sink to a level with the beasts, and he can never, by the highest culture in the direction of a free personality, become independent of religion. There are among men no atheists, taking the word in the widest sense, as it is here to be taken. The godless, notwithstanding their wish to be free from God, occupy a position of dependence upon a higher power, who rules them, and whom

they serve. The gods of the lower forms of religion die not; they live on still in the higher. These are the gods under whose dominion atheists place themselves. They are not, as they would have it, emancipated from religion, only their religion is a worship of idols.

Religion, inasmuch as it is innate to human nature, is subject to the conditions of psychological development. It is seen in its original form as the basis of the real harmony of human nature in the child and in the primitive state of mankind. So soon as man out of a state of indeterminateness awakens to consciousness, distinguishes between himself and the outer world, attains unto self-consciousness and to consciousness of his non-ego, he makes his appearance, as a free self-conscious man, over against the outer world, and asserts his freedom over against the necessity of nature. But he conquers the limitations, which the powers of nature place upon his freedom, by means of the religious feeling present within him. He conceives religiously of the powers of nature, which threaten to destroy his human Ego, and finds, and reverences in them, the objectively divine, upon which subjectively in his own spirit he feels himself dependent. The subjective feeling of dependence passes over into the objective feeling of dependence on the higher powers of nature, which can now appear in the most varied psychological forms, as fear and trust, awe and reverence, humility and exaltation, hope and thankfulness. But human freedom with its wilfulness does not rise to this feeling of dependence. As against the powers of nature, so too against the objectively divine, it reacts, and brings man into opposition with God. But the opposition is immediately perceived by him to be disunion, a psychological fact which can be explained only on the supposition of an original consciousness of his unity with God. In this we find the reason why man torn away from God cannot continue in disunion with God, in a separation which disorders his innermost being. From his religious conscience

the impulse to win again the unity with God, which was lost, breaks forth, and attains its end in the blissful feeling of actual reunion or reconciliation with God. Those characteristics, too, which constitute the essence of religion, are found imprinted upon all the historical religions. Wherever historical religion is, there is to be found, not only estrangement from God, but the longing after reconciliation with God.

Religion, comprehensively viewed in respect of the fundamental elements of essence, is a central life in man's spirit. All the functions thereof have their own proper religious end assigned to them in the psychological course of the religious consciousness. It is now generally acknowledged that Schleiermacher and Hegel conceived of religion in a one-sided manner, the former as feeling, the latter as mental impression (*Vorstellung*) of the absolute. It is now seen that, on the contrary, all the utterances of the spiritual life are concentrated in religion, and have their part in religion.[1] Religion is neither mere feeling, nor mere knowledge, nor mere doing, but, as an actual life of the spirit of man, it is the immediate interlacing of feeling, knowledge, and will, in which equally, though under varying forms, relationship to God is expressed.[2] It is not therefore by chance, but psychologically conditioned by the character of religion, that a form of worship is connected with every religion. The religious man does not continue in a mystical feeling, nor is it with a mere knowledge of God that

[1] Compare on Schleiermacher's view of religion the works referred to under § 17. On Hegel's idea of religion, compare H. Holtzmann, Die Entwickelung des Religionsbegriffs in der Schule Hegel's, in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1878, H. 2, 3. The discussion of the idea of religion was continued, after Hegel and Schleiermacher, chiefly by Braniss, Reiff, L. Noack, Fichte, Weisse, Chalybaeus, Ritter, Schelling in his latest philosophical works, C. Schwarz, Das Wesen der Religion. Halle 1847. O. Pfleiderer, Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1869; and Religionsphilosophie, S. 255 ff. Biedermann, Dogmatik, § 8 ff. Lipsius, Dogmatik, § 16 ff.

[2] For excellent popular exposition of these three elements in religion, see Liddon, Some Elements of Religion (London 1881), pp. 8–21. See also Martensen, Christian Dogmatics (Edinburgh 1866), pp. 7–12.—Ed.

he has to do, but his innermost being constrains him uninterruptedly to maintain a proper relation to God. The religiously determined will first of all shows itself as an inclination to the construction of a ritual, which creates the forms in which worship can be expressed. Worship has, therefore, a community-forming power. Every religious man has the same interest in the worship. Wherever there is religion, a worshipping community is also found. In the worship, however, nothing else than what belongs to the very essence of religion can have expression given it. Varied as the rituals of the historical religions are, the essential elements of the religious consciousness are impressed alike upon them all. The common elementary forms of all worship are prayer, sacrifice, and praise, and in each of these forms, variously blended, the fundamental religious feeling of union, disunion, and reconciliation with God, are manifested.

SECOND DIVISION — THE NATURE OF RELIGION IN ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.—Having now in the First Division determined psychologically the nature of religion, the Second Division has to show how the general idea of religion attains historically unto its special end. It has to show that the religiously exercised spirit of man, from which those special forms of religion proceed, does not rest from its activity until it has reached the highest stage of religious consciousness attainable by it, or, what is the same thing, until its originally innate revelation of God has become perfectly manifest. The theory of religion proceeds here on purely historical ground. It is not, however, incumbent upon it to give a history of religion, but it has that as its presupposition, and takes from it only the fundamental principles, by the combination of which a particular religion has been constructed historically. From the outline of the history of religion in § 32, we can, therefore, here only refer to the most general points. The relation of man to God, the universal idea of religion, retains

its definiteness in respect of contents by means of the thought of God. The historical religions have, accordingly, arranged themselves into the three groups—the religion of nature, the Hebrew religion, and Christianity; and, on the basis of the exposition given in § 32, these three groups may be considered as forming simply two stages in religious development—the religion of immanence, embracing the religions of nature, and the religion of transcendence, embracing Hebraism and Christianity.[1]

The characteristic of all the religions of nature is, that they conceive of the finite as divine, and in their thought of God do not rise above the realm of finitude. Nature, including man, is the sphere in which the religious consciousness at this stage finds its gods. It is not, however, nature as a whole, as the universe, that is the object of reverence, but particular natural objects, the heavens, the sun, the moon, and the stars, and the earth, fire, water, sea, streams, fountains, trees, beasts, and, at higher stages of culture, particular ideal powers of human society. Hence the innumerability of the heavenly and earthly, the higher and the lower gods. But the theory of nature, upon which the religion of nature rests, must likewise vary among nations according to differences of geographical situation, history, and culture. Hence we find a great variety of kinds of religions of nature, and thus their limitation to particular nations is accounted for. The more highly cultured nations have this in common, that the popular imagination personifies the divine powers of nature, and makes objective for the contemplation of the people gods formed somewhat after the fashion of man.

[1] Pfleiderer, in his Religionsphilosophie, S. 725, distinguishes the historical religions under two classes as the religion of nature and the historical religions. This distinction does not appear to me to be suitable, and rests only on a formal difference. But if it be justifiable to group together, as Pfleiderer does, the religions of Zoroaster and Confucius with Mosaism as religions of law, and Buddhism with Christianity as a religion of redemption, then this should be the principle of division in the history of religion.

Myths, legends, and miracles are the forms in which faith in the gods gives expression to its contents. In myths, so far as they have a religious character, the people behold the nature and actings of their humanly formed gods bound by the finite limitations of space and time. But as representatives of higher superhuman powers they are at the same time free from those limitations which are laid upon mortals. In their intercourse with men they exercise an immediate influence upon human affairs and conduct, and manifest their superhuman elevation above the natural conditions of space and time. In this sense, the miracle has its proper home in the sphere of the religion of nature. The legend is the expansion of the myth, and adds to the mythical gods of nature the gods of human fable. In the legend the people fall back upon their own primitive history, and bring the heroes of antiquity, to whom tradition assigns the original construction of their national life, into immediate fellowship with the gods, through whose favour they themselves have been endowed with divine power and miracle-working skill, so that, as inferior gods, they are sharers in all but the highest divine rank and veneration. Myths, legends, and miracles are, nevertheless, not the peculiar property of the religion of nature, but the common property of all religion. To the religious view the divine operation in nature and man generally is an immediate one, as in myth and legend it is represented, and as in miracle the human longing after freedom from finite limitations generally expresses itself. Myth, legend, and miracle are the poetry of religion. They, therefore, pass over from the religion of nature into the religion of transcendence, into the Hebrew and the Christian religions. They have, however, a different significance in these last from what they have in the former. While in the religion of nature the divine being and operation come forth in the event which is reported as a myth or miracle, in the religion of

transcendence the divine stands superior to history, which forms only the case that covers an ideal content. Adherence to a history constructed on the foundation of myth and miracle, rather than to its ideal content, is, in the sphere of spiritual religion, superstition.

The origin of the religions of nature is partly hidden in what may be called the elementary life of the nation. The national consciousness, however, grounds its faith, in so far as that is to be known from myth and legend, or at least from the form of worship, upon an immediately divine communication. If popular tradition has not retained the story of a historical person who introduced the religion, such a one is yet presupposed in the earliest beginnings of the nation. As the nation in its historical existence points back to family and tribe, there will also have been in its prehistorical condition a patriarch or tribal chief who was the revealer of the beginnings of the later national faith. Among other nations such personalities appear in history as founders of religion, or at least reformers of the religion of the people. The creative influence, which proceeds from them to the people, is explained from the act of revelation having attained perfection in them. Historically these productive spirits in the sphere of religion are to be conceived of as personalities, whose consciousness of God was the dominating power of their spiritual life, and made itself felt as such upon the kindred spirit of their nation. But for the national consciousness the overpowering impression, which was made by the founder of the religion, became the occasion for considering the spiritual act of revelation on the part of such a one, a superhuman operation effected by an immediately outward divine communication. Like the heroes of antiquity, the founders of religion were regarded in sacred legend as having intercourse with the divine, whence they obtained higher insight and higher power than belong to ordinary men, so that the doctrines taught and the acts done by them before

the people were regarded as divine doctrines and miraculous acts. In order to prevent these being forgotten, and to preserve them to all coming generations, they were set down in writing. In this way there sprang up a sacred literature, which contains the divine revelation, and has for the people an authoritative and normative significance. This was the form which the real act of revelation, in the spirit of the founder who preceded it, assumed. This view is present also to the founders of the Hebrew and the Christian religions, and must in the one case as well as in the other, be divested of its subjectivity, and reduced to its real ground.

The revealed faith is the centre around which the nation as a cultured community is grouped together. The character of the worship is determined by the contents of its belief concerning God. As in the religion of nature the idea of God is restricted to the finite sphere, in its worship it is the finite that is the subject of consideration, at most something merely sensible, only sporadically anything of an ethical kind. Fortune and misfortune keep the consciousness on the alert for the favour and disfavour, the goodness and wrath of the gods. The religious feelings, which are thereby awakened, find their expression in prayer and sacrifice. Prayer is thanks for benefits received and petition for further favour, or for the turning away of anger and for forbearance; in the lowest form it is magic, which, by particular forms and machinations, seeks to obtain human wishes from the gods by importunity, or in this way to avert the divine wrath. Sacrifices are really only an intensified prayer. In token of gratitude, or as an expiation, the pious man brings forth from his possessions the best gifts, food, drink, animals, in order to retain or win back the favour of the gods. The greater the divine goodness or the divine wrath, the more costly and abundant are the gifts. In order to appease anger, the dearest possession, even a human life, will be given as a sacrifice. If the favour bestowed by the gods be a general and national one, a victory, an abundant

harvest, or if the calamity be a national one, the festival must be conceived on a scale of proportionate magnificence, the sacrifice that is rendered must be correspondingly massive and valuable.

The performance of divine service lies in the hand of the priests, who are distinguished from the mass of the people, not only by their insight into sacred doctrine, but also by the possession of gifts for searching out the will of the gods, and for working miracles through their priestly relation to the gods. Above all it belongs to them to guard the religious institutions, which are held sacred by the gods, and cannot be infringed or neglected with impunity. By means of worship a religious spirit takes its rise among the people, which affects the life of the whole race, its customs, its morals, the public arrangements, and the national culture. Poets and artists, who appear among the people, are exponents of the national spirit, and bring the histories and the figures of the gods before the people's view in the fair forms of poetry and the plastic arts. This does not prevent particular personalities rising above this platform of the popular spiritual life, since the spirit can never be bound by the fetters of traditional authority. In the range of particular national religions we meet with surprising spiritual utterances which far transcend the finite point of view of the national religion, but just for that reason are not to be regarded as historical documents of that religion, but as evidence of the philosophical or higher religious elevation which is possible for the individual spirit within the range of national limits. So long as such phenomena appear in a nation only here and there, the national religion is unaffected thereby; but as soon as they have been developed into a general power among the people, the national religion must suffer dissolution and overthrow. The significance of the religions of nature for the history of religion consists in this, that they, even if only after an external manner, and in respect simply of individuals, elevate

the faith of the nations into the recognition of a divine dispensation in nature and man; but the finite standpoint, which they occupy, succumbs before advancing culture. The wish to return to, or universalize this standpoint, whether it be philosophically or poetically expressed, is a paralogism as well as an anachronism.

In the history of religion the standpoint of immanence was overstepped by Hebraism. For the Hebrew consciousness there is but one God, and this one and only God, the Creator of heaven and earth, is elevated above nature and man, and rules over both with unrestricted power. But the national consciousness does not leave the Supreme in an absolute transcendence. As He by creation has descended within the limits of time, so also He has brought Himself within the limits of space, when He entered into personal intercourse with the first man whom He created and with his posterity. All men and races stand under His dominion, and among them all He has condescended to the one people, Israel, whose ancestors He had already distinguished by special revelations, until by Moses, the chosen mediator, He established His eternal covenant with the nation. The weal and woe of the nation and of its several members are dependent upon its attitude toward the law, in which the will of God is completely set forth. By means of the idea of the divine covenant, the sonship of Israel obtains a thoroughly ethical character. As in the ritual of the religions of nature, so in that of Israel, sacrifices form a principal constituent; but they have with God no value as mere outward tokens of respect; only if they are presented in a spirit of resignation to the divine will, and of attachment to the law, and in sincere repentance for the breaking of the law, are they well-pleasing to God, and incline Him to be favourable, to forgive sin, and withdraw His displeasure. As the law points back to a divine revelation, the ordinance of worship also points back to a divine appointment. Jehovah enthroned in heaven is

present with His people in the temple. The structure and arrangement thereof, the sacrificial rites, the sacred festival seasons, are appointed by God. The ceremonial of worship, as well as the law, is commanded. For His service God separated to Himself from the people a particular sacerdotal class, which is required to appear before Jehovah pure and blameless in respect of the law. The chief of the priests, the high priest, holds a place of preference before God, and can, by means of the Urim and Thummim upon his breast, discover the divine counsels. The people of Israel, which orders its whole national life according to the will of God, and in worship bends its will to the will of the Divine Lawgiver, is the people of God, and forms on a thoroughly ethical basis the theocratic State, which, under the protection of the Almighty God, maintains this standard of His righteousness. The ethical consciousness of the people is penetrated by the idea of the divine retribution. The fortunes and misfortunes of the whole nation, as well as of the individual, are conceived of from the point of view of divine reward and divine punishment. As rewarder, God manifests Himself in His unlimited omnipotence. Miracles are the mighty works of Jehovah, by which He authenticates Moses as the founder of the divine State, delivers the people from bondage, and leads them into the Holy Land, by which He continually interferes in the affairs of the nation and of individuals to apportion reward or punishment, and will also in the future raise the divine State to a position of glorious perfection. The spirit of the nation, inspired by divine revelation, expressed itself in a rich and fruitful literature, through national historians, poets, prophets, and sages. The writings published by them were in later ages collected together. The foundation of the collection, the law, was attributed to Moses himself; the other writings are regarded as the immediate or mediate product of the Divine Spirit, the whole collection, as an inspired document expressing the divine will, which God

has revealed to His own chosen people alone among all the nations.

The Hebrew religion is a national religion, like the religions of nature. This relationship shows that only the covenant idea, not the covenant itself, could be of eternal continuance. The Hebrew consciousness of God was agitated by the contradiction of idea and reality. God is thought of in absolute transcendence as the one infinite God. When in free love He comes down to the one people, and concludes the covenant with it, He steps, indeed, over the limits of absolute transcendence, but the restriction of His worship to one people does not harmonize with the idea of His infinity; and when He reveals His will to this one people, He raises it, indeed, above the sphere of the natural life into an ethical commonwealth, but the restriction of the kingdom of God to one people is just as little in unison with the absolute idea of God. But the law itself, in which God is present (immanent) among His people, is set over against the people as the outwardly revealed will of God, which they indeed obey, not for God's sake, but for their own sake. Neither the nation nor individuals yield obedience to the law and observe the worship of Jehovah with its eternal interests; the fulfilment of the law and rendering of divine service are rather only the means whereby the national and personal interests are preserved. Under the rule of Rabbinism and Pharisaism, this legal righteousness showed itself as a mere external piety, or as a demand which man in his weakness despaired of ever realizing. The law, instead of leading man into fellowship and reconciliation with God, rather brought to light the consciousness of estrangement, by which under the dominion of the law he is separated from God. Hebrew writers have themselves taken note of the defects which are current in the national religion, and have sought to free themselves from them. Even the prophets, however, are not altogether free from the national particularism, for they allow the theo-

cratic State and the law to continue their existence in the future, but the contradiction that the one God should be the God of one nation is overcome by them in their Messianic hope, with which they point forward to a time when all nations with Israel shall worship the one God. Thus, too, they pass over the gulf which was made by the law between God and the nation, when they proclaim a kingdom of the future, whose citizens shall all be filled with the Spirit of Jehovah, and out of love to Jehovah shall fulfil His law. In the way of philosophy, Alexandrian Judaism freed itself from the limitation of the national religion. While the Greek philosophy dissolved the heathen national religion, it was for the Jews the means of reconstructing their idea of God, and erecting on Old Testament foundations a universal religion of humanity. But as the Greek philosophy could not supply a national religion to the Greeks and Romans, so too the Alexandrians' philosophical theory of religion could not afford a national religion to the Jews.

The Old Testament religion receives its religious fulfilment in Christianity. God in His absolute transcendence, as the God of mankind, who is really immanent in the spirit of man, is the religious consciousness which in Christ enters into history as a personal life, and which He Himself has given expression to in the most impressive form, under the figure of the fatherly relationship. The personal fellowship, in which He Himself as Son stood with God the Father, is a universally human one: God is the Father of all men, and all men are His children. The religion of Christ is the religion of humanity, and as communion between father and children, it is a religion of the spirit. The faith in His person, which Christ requires, is not a faith in this or that fact, but, according to its idea, it is the appropriating of the divine spiritual life, as it was realized in Christ. Men penetrated by such a faith form the Church of God, which is called to found in the world the kingdom of God, for the glorifying of the life of

the world through the Spirit of God. The Christian religious consciousness transcends all the limits which were drawn around the pre-Christian religions. Everything of a particularist and external kind is removed. Christianity is a relationship between God and man, and this relationship is a purely spiritual one, a relationship of spirit to spirit. God is a Spirit and is to be worshipped in spirit. His worship is not restricted in respect of place and time. Its place is the heart of man, and to all times it must prove its reality. The surrender of the whole inner man to God, and ordering one's life according to a God-fearing mind, is the only sacrifice that can be presented with acceptance to God. Religion in its ideality is the conclusion of its history. In it mankind has reached the spiritual elevation which was the aim of its religious development. Christ is the historical personality by whom the original revelation of God in the human spirit has attained its most perfect expression. As Christ is the true Revealer of the divine and human nature, so is He the Redeemer who delivers man from all finite bonds and powers, and the Saviour who raises His own believing followers into a fellowship with God, which reaches beyond death into eternity.

The document, from which alone the idea of Christianity can be obtained, is Holy Scripture. In it the early Christian Church has expressed its faith in the Messiah. In its founder it worshipped the Sent of God, the Redeemer, and Saviour; but it has conceived of Him, not after a historical, but rather after a religious manner. The first Christian believers have, in accordance with their national views, surrounded their Christ, as other religious communities surrounded their founders, with divine glory. The Sent of God is glorified by miracles and confirmed in His divine mission. The revelation, which is perfected in the depths of the Spirit of Christ, is attributed to outward metaphysical influences. The redemption which He wrought, and the salvation which He procured, are viewed as supernatural transactions. Nevertheless, the national wrapping

with which, according to the New Testament, the primitive Christian Church clothed its faith in the Messiah, is not so thick that the historical truth of the life and spiritual power of Christ, and consequently the idea of the religion founded by Him, cannot be perceived from under it. The ancient Church has not mistaken the fundamental significance of the writings of the apostolic age. The writings obtained from that age, bound together as one whole, it has ascribed to the apostles themselves, and it has derived them, as well as the Old Testament, from divine inspiration. The two Testaments were regarded by it as the most authentic document of the divine revelation proceeding from Moses and Christ.

While Christianity as religion has a share in the psychological grounding of religion generally, which systematic theology in its first division has to afford, and while already, in the importance which is assigned to Christianity as compared with the other religions in the history of religion, the Church obtains security for its faith, systematic theology has for its further task to prove, by means of a scientific elaboration of the Christian faith, that religion as positive Christianity, or Christianity as the religion of the spirit, rightly advances the claim to be regarded and acknowledged as the absolutely true religion. The Christian thinker, in order to attain clearness and insight in regard to the content of his faith, has proceeded at different times in accordance with different principles and motives. The results of the labour thus expended are found in that complex of historical dogmas which the systematic theology of the present has to regard as its most important preparative. Even the principles of its own scientific activity, it has to borrow from the development of Church history. Church history closes with the opposition of Roman Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism. Over against the hierarchical authority which determined the faith of the Church in accordance with Scripture and tradition, but really set itself above Scripture and tradition, and the legalism

to which Christianity had been reduced in the Roman Church, the Reformation set Holy Scripture, whose word in its truth is witnessed to in the believer's heart by the Holy Spirit, and faith in the biblical sense, that is, religious faith, by which alone the justification of man before God can be won, as the formal and material principles of the Reformed Church. Very soon, however, religious faith was changed again by Protestant theology into a dogmatic faith, and the Confession of the Church dogma laid down as a condition of salvation, while Holy Scripture, by means of the doctrine of inspiration, was exalted into an absolutely divine document, by the statements of which, theology proved the truth of the Church doctrine. That it was a mistake to attribute such an authority to Holy Scripture, exegetical theology, in the course of Protestant scientific investigation, has shown beyond dispute. And, as continued investigation of the Church doctrine after long theological conflicts showed, this doctrine, regarded as a standard of truth, is not such that salvation should be made dependent thereon. This conviction led to the union of the two separated Protestant Churches and to the founding of the Evangelical Protestant Church, the historical significance of which lies in this, that, just as the Reformation made an end of the domination of hierarchical ecclesiasticism, this made an end of the domination of dogmatic ecclesiasticism, and set up, in place of a Church of the theologians, a truly national Church.

On the basis of this historical development, systematic theology has to establish its proper standpoint for the scientific understanding of Christianity. As the result of exegetical theology it recognises in Holy Scripture divine revelation, but revelation under the limitations and conditions of national and historical influences. Scripture, therefore, is perceived by it to be, not only a revealed document, but also a religious document, an expression which calls attention to its divine and human character. A distinction is, therefore, to be made

between the ecclesiastical and the theological use of Holy Scripture. For the Church Scripture is of significance as the word of God, has normative authority for the faith and life of the Christian community, and commends itself to believers by the witness of the Holy Spirit in its saving power. All the attributes, which the old orthodox theology ascribed to Holy Scripture, auctoritas, divina veritas, perfectio, perspicuitas, efficacia divina, necessitas, integritas et perennitas, puritas et sinceritas fontium, authentica, dignitas,—are in the ecclesiastical use of Scripture, unconditionally fitted for the purpose of edification; in the theological use of Scripture, they are only conditionally suited thereto. On the ground of its historical knowledge of Scripture, systematic theology must refuse to adopt Holy Scripture as its formal principle, in the sense of making agreement with Scripture a proof of truth. The historical human character of Scripture contradicts this position. On the other hand, as the vehicle of revelation, Holy Scripture is for systematic theology the source of instruction, from which, by means of exegesis, it derives the idea of Christianity, and therewith its real principle. The material principle of the Reformation, Christian faith, conceived of in its ideality as fellowship of spirit and life with God, is the real principle, which forms the positive foundation and content of the following branches of systematic theology. This principle, borrowed from Holy Scripture, has for systematic theology normative authority. It supplies it with the standard by which it is in all cases enabled to decide as to what is essentially Christian. While now in ecclesiastical usage, the formal and material principles are equally authoritative and placed together, systematic theology has to prove the truth of what is Christian, that is to say, what is embraced in its real principle, and what, in the sphere of history, it finds in agreement therewith, and has to raise the subjective conviction of truth, which for believers the word of Scripture bears in itself, into an objective demonstration of truth. But

since Holy Scripture is not suited to this theological purpose, systematic theology must affirm the principle, which is common to all sciences, and is employed by all for the objective grounding of their subject, the principle of rational thinking. What is demanded by the idea of religion in general, and by that of the Christian faith in particular, the rational knowledge of faith, was brought into full prominence by the history of Protestant theology. By means of the conflict of the theological antitheses of supernaturalism and rationalism, of Schleiermacher's theology and speculative theology, the conviction was confirmed, that the truth of the Christian faith is to be established, not by any sort of external evidence, but by rational demonstration. (Compare §§ 16–18.) On the ground of this historical fact, systematic theology takes for its formal principle rational thinking, and thereby comes into direct, absolutely negative contradiction with Roman Catholicism, which, in accordance with its dogma of infallibility, has made the miracle of divine inspiration, which is realized in the human Pope, its formal principle. The two principles referred to are the norm for the further scientific task of systematic theology, according to which it may determime, both what is Christian, and also, that what is Christian, is true. The whole doctrinal tradition, which for systematic theology is of great historical value, but has by no means a normative significance, is overturned by the criticism of those principles.

§ 42. DOGMATICS.

Christian faith, fellowship of spirit and life with God, is the immediate unity of God and man, or of infinite and finite spirit. Dogmatics has the theoretical contents thereof for its subject, and is to be treated in accordance with its historically postulated principles. It is according to its idea the scientific exposition of spiritual fellowship with God or of the relationship with God, of which the Christian is conscious. As a division of systematic theology, it has to vindicate its scientific character by leading through the mediation of thought to knowledge, and by grounding in the Christian consciousness of God the highest ideal and real form of the life of the human spirit. In the theological system there can be only one dogmatics. The distinction made by J. P. Lange (Encyclop. S. 166) of three forms of dogmatics, philosophical, positive, and applied dogmatics, affords no inner principle of demarcation, and can lead only to confusion. In the idea of dogmatics here adopted the philosophical element as well as the positive is embraced; but applied dogmatics does not in any case belong to systematic theology. It is not even allowable, with A. Schweizer (Christl. Glaubenslehre, i. S. 5), to distinguish between the system of faith and dogmatics as the science of Church doctrine; for it would be unscientific to expound the system of faith without reference to the Church doctrine, and dogmatics does not, by this reference, become a science of Church doctrines. The idea of dogmatics in the above definition is to be historically justified aud established. The history of dogmatics has its place here.[1] In regard to the idea, division and method

[1] Comp. Hagenbach, Encyclop. S. 352–356 [Engl. transl. p. 442–448]; and Pelt, Encyclop. S. 469–496.

of dogmatics, opinions have been and still are very diverse. The most prevalent view has been that dogmatics, as a scientific exposition of Christian doctrines, could at most be set forth for one particular Church: and so there arose a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Reformed, dogmatics. Even dogmatists of recent times, certainly in very different ways, bring this branch of theology into direct relation to dogma. Rothe (in his Ethik, i. S. 62) defines dogmatics as the science of dogmas, and only in so far as there are dogmas, that is, ecclesiastically authorized doctrinal positions, is there, according to him, dogmatics. It is, therefore, a system grouping into one the dogmas of a particular Church, a science of Church doctrines, and is reckoned by Rothe, as by Schleiermacher, a branch of historical theology. Biedermann adopts an ultra-confessional standpoint. According to his Dogmatik, § 1, Christian dogmatics has for its task the scientific elaboration of Christian dogma; but since Christian dogma has for its only content the real principle of Christianity, § 3, so it has, according to § 4, for its true subject a religious real principle, and consequently it has the task not only of seeking this out from the empirical historical material of the sum of dogmas lying before it, but of putting its own impress upon it, and by the expenditure of thought giving a more adequately rational expression of its contents. According to Lipsius (Dogmatik, § 1), Christian dogmatics is the scientific exposition of the Christian faith. Although this commonly met with definition is partly only formal, and partly too general, since the ethical content of faith is not taken into consideration in dogmatics, it is nevertheless recommended by its general character. But Lipsius goes with Schleiermacher. According to § 2, its special theological character is given to dogmatics by its practical aim to serve the ecclesiastical communion, and by the method of treating the material that is hereby demanded. Thus Lipsius, turning to Biedermann and Schleiermacher,

prepares his way for the historical and confessional conception of dogmatics, according to which it is the scientific elaboration of dogma, or the scientific development of doctrine, which in the Christian Church (whichever Church the dogmatist serves) has to commend itself as the universally valid expression of its common faith. Dogmatics, as the science of ecclesiastical doctrinal conclusions, in the strictest sense of the word is now possible only in the Romish Church. Church dogma is with the Roman Catholic dogmatist a constant quantity. He is allowed to collect the dogmas into one comprehensive system, but he is not allowed to devise any alteration in them. This privilege is reserved to the Pope. Such a conception of dogmatics and its history is irreconcilable with the principles of Protestantism. Were Protestant orthodox dogmatists to understand their science in this way, the three dogmatists named would be completely left behind. They are all convinced of the variability of dogma in general, and of that of their own particular Church, and do not hesitate to deal with it as a variable quantity. That the dogmatics of Rothe's definition is not satisfactory to Protestantism, Rothe himself acknowledges, when he places alongside of dogmatics his speculative theology, which is not tied down to the dogma of the Church. In like manner, according to the historical notion of dogmatics proposed by Lipsius, the Church doctrine is subject to change with the age; and Biedermann, by his definition of dogmatics, transcends the limitations of Church dogma. In keeping with this, moreover, is the fact that the conclusions of speculative theology also are characterized by this want of finality, a sure sign with Rothe that the form of the Church which is inadequate for the expression of Christianity must be overthrown (Ethik, i. S. 50). The conclusions of the dogmatics of Lipsius, too, pretend only to a temporary validity; while Biedermann strives constantly after one end, namely, the extricating from the mass of historical dogma the real

Christian principle. If now, on the other hand, these dogmatists agree in this, that they derive the dogma from the common Christian religious consciousness, and regard the Christian religious principle as the one and only content of the dogma, and Biedermann besides, at § 99, for his own purposes, derives the religious principle of Christianity, the mutual relationship between the infinite and the finite spirit, from its historical source, the person of Jesus, they do themselves thereby show that for the dogmatics of variable dogma must be substituted the constant quantity, from which all dogmas spring, and which is the abiding foundation of the Church. This, as Biedermann says, § 4, must be regarded as the true subject of dogmatics. With Biedermann the task is assigned to dogmatics of searching out this Christian religious real-principle in the mass of historical dogma, and then further, by means of its own reflective activity, giving utterance to this as the adequate rational expression of its contents. This is in agreement with Schenkel, inasmuch as he, both in his Dogmatik and in his Grundlehren des Christenthums, represents dogmatics as the product of faith, and makes the Christian redemption its subject. Compare Dogmatik, i. S. 65, and Grundlehren, S. 22 ff. As ethics has not an ecclesiastical system of morals for its subject, but the ethical content of the Christian faith, so also dogmatics has to be reduced to the consciousness of faith in Christ, that is, to the idea of Christianity, and has to take for its subject the theoretical content of that idea. It has not even to lay down again the *credenda*, but to give a scientific proof of the truth of those dogmas in which the Christian religious faith has been already historically unfolded. The statement of Rothe, that, if no ecclesiastical dogmas had been previously established there would have been no dogmatics, is thoroughly unhistorical. If this were so, then too there could have been no ethics. If theology itself, as ordinarily treated, places dogmas in the foreground,

there need be no wonder that, on the part of opponents, Christianity is identified with the Church dogmas, and that, because an end can be easily made of them, it is thought that Christianity itself can be overthrown. From what has been said, it follows that Christian dogmatics is not confessional (comp. Schenkel, Dogmatik, i. S. 12), and that its task cannot be defined as the explanation of the dogmas of a particular Church, in order to restore a dogmatic system which shall find general acceptance with the believing members of the Church. This would be an irrational as well as an unpractical beginning, for the newly-constructed system would be immediately subject to the same criticism to which the dogmatist subjected his dogmatic material. Christian dogmatics has a confessional character, only in so far as it finds in Protestantism and its history the principles which distinguish it as a department of theological science, and as it has to pay special attention to those Protestant dogmas which lie at the foundation of those principles. However, as it has from the scientific standpoint to subject the Protestant principles themselves to its criticism, it also assumes a critical attitude toward the Protestant dogmas, and rejects what is false in them; while, on the other hand, it must be ready to recognise truth even in non-Protestant symbols, if it actually finds any in them. In this way is won the true theological freedom from prejudice, which transcends that lower style of polemics which combats anything simply because it is, for example, Roman Catholic, whereas the Romish is only to be contested in so far as it contradicts the Christian idea, while anything that is in accordance with Christian truth, even if it be Roman Catholic, deserves to be acknowledged. In consequence of its essential and historical connection with Protestantism, Christian dogmatics may entertain the hope that its labours will afford the greatest assistance to the evangelical Church, and will thus contribute to the protecting, strengthening, and

establishing in the heart of the great evangelical community that religious faith which rests upon the person of Christ, and has been uninterruptedly maintained in the Christian Church, though often obscured and repressed, and was taken by the Church of the Reformation as its vital principle. Christian dogmatics will also contribute to winning over members of other Churches, as well as opponents of Christianity, to refining and clarifying the dogmatic faith, not only of the evangelical Church, but also of the other Churches, and in this way setting the minds of men free from superstition.

The division of dogmatics must continue uncertain and vacillating so long as dogma is taken for its subject. To one dogmatist this dogma, to another that, seems of supreme importance, and to the dogma thus regarded all others are made subordinate. According to this scheme of arrangement each dogma has its place, its own particular *locus*, in the dogmatic system. This method of distribution was called the local method. The whole system was viewed organically as a *corpus dogmaticum*, and under this certain *capita* were distinguished, among which the several dogmas were distributed as *articuli fidei*, ἄρθρα τῆς πίστεως. Down to the time of John of Damascus, it was customary, according to the local method, to divide dogmatics into four parts, theology, anthropology, soteriology or Christology, and eschatology, but the order of succession was varied by different dogmatists. It cannot be denied that this division has its foundations in the very essence of the Christian faith, and is so far justifiable: nevertheless it favoured also the idea of a mere external and formal connection of the dogmas with one another, in which there was little trace of an organic treatment. It seemed enough, if the several dogmas were arranged according to the scheme of the method applied, and the claims of scholarship were supposed to be satisfied, if the most complete apparatus possible, borrowed from exegesis and the history of doctrines, were furnished

to each dogma. No one as yet seemed to have any thought of going back to the sources of spiritual life, out of which the dogmas sprang, and seeking to recognise the inner spiritual connection, by means of which they were bound together. An endeavour was made, especially in the Reformed Church, to get free from this traditional method. In the seventeenth century, Cocceius and Witsius introduced, instead of the local method, the so-called Fœderal Method, *methodus fœderalis*, the covenant scheme, and divided dogmatics according to the different covenant engagements into which God entered with man. They thus distinguished *fœdus naturæ et operum*, and *fœdus gratiæ*, with its three economies, *ante legem, sub lege, et post legem*.[1] Even within the Reformed Church this method found only temporary acceptance, while in other communions it received no favour, although it is not to be denied that it rests upon a profound conception of the religious life. Much, however, is by it dragged into Christian dogmatics which should rather belong to the general history of religion. An earlier attempted division, from a comparatively much more abstract point of view, taking the Trinity as the principle of distribution, was revived by Hegel. In his Philosophy of Religion, Hegel treats first of all of the eternal idea of God in and for Himself, the kingdom of the Father, then the eternal idea of God in the element of the represented past (creation of the world, and the incarnation), the kingdom of the Son, and thirdly, the idea of God in the element of the subjective self-consciousness of the present, or the religious community, the kingdom of the Spirit. This distribution was also adopted by Marheineke, Martensen, and Strauss, in their dogmatics. By the latter, however, it was so far modified that he divided dogmatics only into two principal parts, and treated in the first, of the Absolute as subject of abstract representation, or in the element of eternity, as divine essence,

[1] Comp. A. Schweizer, Reformirte Dogmatik, S. 103 ff.

in the second, of the Absolute as subject of empirical representation, or in the element of time, and from the point of view of past, present, and future. In Hegel's Philosophy of Religion the Trinitarian division resulted from his conception of religion, in which the idea of the Absolute stands in the foreground. In dogmatics, it has the disadvantage of giving an undue prominence to its metaphysical element, while restricting the anthropological element. The old familiar method of division employed by Schleiermacher is likewise very anomalous. Schleiermacher makes the Christian believing consciousness the principle for the division of his dogmatic material. He starts from the antithesis of sin and grace, and with reference to this cardinal point of the Christian consciousness, divides dogmatics into two parts: 1. The pious feeling of dependence without reference to the antithesis of man's own inability and the ability imparted; and 2. The pious feeling of dependence with essential reference to this antithesis. In this arrangement full justice is done to the anthropological and especially to the christological element, inasmuch as Christ appears in Schleiermacher's dogmatics as the middle point, from which the Christian consciousness in all its relations is determined. Here again, however, on the one side, the metaphysical element is put too much in the background, and on the other side, the first part, which contains a philosophical exposition of the universal human feeling of dependence upon God, does not, according to Schleiermacher's general conception, belong to dogmatics.[1] As a positive science, Christian dogmatics has nothing to do with anything which does not properly belong to the essential content of the Christian consciousness. It is not man's dependence upon God, as Schleiermacher the philosopher conceives it, that is to be discussed, but dependence upon God, as it is conceived according to the idea of Christianity. Rothe, evidently influenced by Schleiermacher,

[1] Comp. Bender, Schleiermacher's Theologie, S. 404 f., 415 f., 419.

distributes in his dogmatics the whole dogmatic material under two divisions: the *consciousness of sin* and the *consciousness of grace.* In a similar way Schenkel, who derives dogmatics from the immediate consciousness of Christian experience, divides it in his dogmatics into three parts: Sin, Redemption, and Restoration, giving the three fundamental doctrines; 1. Man in contradiction to his own nature; 2. Man in the fulfilling of his nature and destiny; and 3. Man in the enjoyment of salvation. Against the divisions of Rothe and Schenkel it may be said generally, that sin has always as its presupposition a positive relation, and hence dogmatics cannot make a beginning with it. Biedermann and Lipsius have again returned to the local method of distribution, without, however, being thereby prevented from giving a thoroughly profound psychological and metaphysical foundation to dogma. In the speculative part of his dogmatics, Biedermann retains the division into theology, anthropology, christology, soteriology, and eschatology. Lipsius admits only three divisions: 1. The doctrine of God; 2. The doctrine of the world and of man; and 3. The doctrine of the redemption manifested in Christ. Alexander Schweizer combines the Trinitarian division with the fœderal method. He arranges his dogmatics under two parts: 1. *theologia naturalis* as *fœderis gratiæ œconomiæ priores ante legem et sub lege;* 2. *theologia revelata* as *fœderis gratiæ œconomia post legem s. evangelica,* and this again is divided into (*a*) the dispensation of the Father, (*b*) of the Son, (*c*) of the Holy Spirit.

In the presence of these varied plans of division, it becomes imperative to search out some objectively grounded scheme. Such a one is formed when, not dogma, but the idea of Christianity or the idea of religion, is made the subject of dogmatics and ethics. As in § 40 we had to determine the distribution of systematic theology generally according to the *formal* conception of religion, so now dogmatics and ethics are

to be distributed in accordance with its *material* conception. Thus, for dogmatics and its whole contents defined as Christian, there are three parts, and each part brings into prominence the mutual relationship between God and man, which is contained in the general conception of religion. Hence dogmatics has to set forth in its first part, the revelation of God to man; in the second, the separation between man and God; and in the third, the reconciliation of man with God. The three parts are related together as thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, and correspond to the theology, anthropology, and soteriology of the old *local* method. Eschatology is included in the third part under reconciliation.

Various methods for the detailed treatment of dogmatics have found favour. The proper methods are those which result from the very conception of dogmatics. In order to obtain the original positive content of the Christian idea, dogmatics must proceed in its three divisions from Holy Scripture, and then subject to the criticism of its real and formal principle, both the Scripture doctrine, in so far as it is dogmatically determined, and also the historical dogma, especially the Church doctrines, in order, by means of criticism, to set forth the Christian idea as the absolute religious truth.

First Division—The Revelation of God to Man.—According to the Old Testament, God, as creator of heaven and earth, is the supramundane God, who issues forth from His transcendence, when He chooses one nation as His own covenant people, and reveals to them His will as law. This limitation and exclusiveness is removed by the New Testament idea of God. God is a Spirit, who worketh all in all (John iv. 24; 1 Cor. xii. 6); and, by reason of His revelation of Himself in the human spirit, He is the God of mankind (1 Cor. ii. 10–13). As Christ Himself, in consequence of the Spirit of God dwelling in Him, bears to God the relation of

Son (Rom. i. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 17), all believers in Christ, by means of their faith, through which they enter into fellowship (*κοινωνία*) with the Son (1 Cor. i. 9), receive the Spirit of God, who makes their bodies temples of God, and brings about their filial relationship with God the Father (*υἱοθεσία*). 1 Cor. vi. 17; Rom. viii. 9, 14–16; Gal. iii. 26, iv. 5, 6; 1 Cor. v. 16, vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16. The supramundane, transcendent God is the Father of all men, and, as Spirit, is immanent in the human spirit. Notwithstanding this undoubtedly fundamental view represented in the New Testament, which passed over from the religious consciousness of Christ into that of the early Christian community, and bridged the gulf, by which God and man at the Old Testament standpoint were separated, the theological product elaborated both by rationalistic and by supernaturalistic theology, was a doctrine of God, according to which God assumes an attitude of absolute transcendence toward the world created by Him, so that this, when once created, works on everlastingly like a machine, or perhaps, at special periods, is determined in its course from without by means of a supernatural interference, especially by means of supernatural revelations of God. In opposition to this abstract theism of theology, and the abstract dualism of God and the world connected therewith, philosophy advanced her pantheistic theory of the world, and sought to escape the theological dualism by completely losing God in the world, whether conceiving of God, as Spinoza did, as the Absolute, or, as Hegel did, as the Absolute Idea. God has no being outside of and beyond the universe, but the universe itself is His being. Abstract transcendence and abstract immanence form the contradiction, with which theology and philosophy confront one another. The Christian dogmatics of the present finds the resolution of this contradiction its hardest problem. Its solution is found in the Christian idea of God as the Absolute Spirit. What is represented to reflection as contra-

diction, appears in the history of religion as a historical process, in the religions of nature as the immanence of God, in Hebraism and Christianity as the transcendence of God. In the purely spiritual monotheism of Christianity, however, the process reaches its conclusion. The immanence of God in the religions of nature is finiteness. Christianity as the religion of transcendence rises above this finiteness, and spiritualizes immanence, inasmuch as it makes the absolutely supramundane God immanent in the finite world by His Spirit. It is the part of dogmatics to bring together in the idea of God the two principal elements in the historical development of religion, and, over against abstract theological theism and philosophical pantheism, to vindicate a spiritual theism. The Church doctrine has set forth the idea of God in the dogma of the Trinity. The notions of God the Father and the Holy Spirit, which in the New Testament are to be taken in a religious-ethical sense, and the notion of the Son of God, which already in the New Testament has a metaphysical significance, have been employed so as to determine the nature of God in a purely metaphysical sense. God the Father, the Son, and the Spirit,—the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son,—these three persons, distinguished from one another, but of the same divine essence, are the one God, the one God is triune, *trinitas in unitate, unitas in trinitate* (Symbolum Athanasianum). The dogma of the Trinity is no mystery; since it has been elaborated by man, it must have some meaning or none. From the history of its origin, the latter alternative is not to be entertained; hence the question simply is, what was historically the sense in which it was laid down? The most diverse explanations have been attempted in order to make it intelligible.[1] With reference, however, to the fundamental elements from the Hebrew doctrine of Wisdom, and the New Testament metaphysical

[1] Compare Lipsius, Dogmatik, S. 275 f.

ideas springing therefrom, as also from the Greek philosophy, which have contributed to the construction of the dogma, it can scarcely be doubted, that the Christian spirit sought to give definite expression in this dogma to the idea of God given it, as the idea of the Absolute Spirit, and that the interpretation of the Trinity offered by Augustine in the phrases *esse*, *nosse*, and *velle*, is correct. Objection can be taken to the dogma only if the form thereof be rigidly adhered to; but the answer is ready, that the notions borrowed from finite relationships—Father, Son, Person,—are to be taken in reference to the dogma, neither in an essential, nor in a religious, but in a purely metaphysical sense, and should be used to express in this sensible form the universal nature of God, that is, the nature of the Absolute Spirit, as God is conceived to be. Spirit, conceived of absolutely, is absolute Being, ultimate source of His own existence, *causa sui*, *aseitas* (Father), and then, since the object of His knowledge is His own Being, absolute self-consciousness (Son), and again, proceeding from His Being and self-consciousness, only self-determining Absolute Will (Spirit). Thus God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, is the one Absolute Divine Essence, the Absolute Spirit, and all attributes which belong to Him as such, belong, in a like absolute manner, to His Being, His Self-consciousness, and His Will. God is therefore conceived of as Absolute Personality, an expression, which indeed the dogma itself has not, but which results from it, and which cannot be further explained than by saying, that the Absolute Spirit is a personality, whose absoluteness consists in this, that it is free from the mode of existence of finite personality, under which the human spirit is represented.[1] If theology keeps firm hold of this idea of God, there will be no danger of falling into a mythological idea of God. It resigns to

[1] In this sense the expression could be quite well allowed by Biedermann. Compare his profound discussion of the idea of the divine personality. Dogmatik, S. 638-647.

speculative philosophy the investigation of the Trinity as a real, antetemporal, immanent process of development in the divine essence. What it maintains is only this, that the idea of the Absolute Spirit is the idea of God which is most consonant with the human reason, without thereby affirming that with this idea we have fathomed the divine essence in its objective depths. It is not the doctrine of the Trinity, but the idea of God itself, that is the mystery; and that is, indeed, a mystery for philosophy, as well as for theology.[1]

The essential Trinity is the Trinity of revelation. God, as the Absolute Spirit, reveals Himself in the necessity of His essence, which for Himself is absolute freedom, in the creation, upholding, and governing of the world (Rom. xi. 36). God, the eternal, is omnipotence and wisdom, omnipresence and omniscience, love and goodness, holiness and righteousness. The universe, the entire circle of finite being, nature and man, has for its end the revelation of God. A divine teleology pervades nature and man, and has for its bearer and channel of communication the human spirit. As nature is a revelation of God to man, man's consciousness of God points back to an original revelation of God in the finite Spirit. Man as a natural being is subject to the necessity of nature, but as a spiritual being, he is related to God, and, in contrast to nature, he is free. By means of his innate consciousness of God, he transcends the bounds of finitude, although natural necessity makes a breach upon his human freedom. Had it not been imprinted at creation on the nature of man, that, so soon as he should issue from his preconscious condition, his consciousness of God, the feeling of dependence on a higher divine power, should make its appearance alongside of his self-consciousness, man could not have risen above the animal stage and the domain of nature into the sphere of the spiritual life. The religious life of mankind can be explained only from an original, eternal, and

[1] Compare Pfleiderer, Religionsphilosophie, S. 249.

uninterruptedly continued revelation of God in the spirit of man. This metaphysical basis is the presupposition of the history of religion, by means of which the religious spirit, in the exercise of its freedom in connection with nature and history, is led on to higher stages in the consciousness of God, until in Christ the revelation is completed, and the idea of God in its absolute truth is revealed. The higher power, the consciousness of which is innate in the human spirit, is the Absolute Spirit, and the highest stage of religiosity is the communion of the finite spirit with the Absolute Spirit, by means of which man first attains unto true freedom, to freedom in God, and to the consciousness of His full ideal destiny. This is the divine providence, which shows itself as the power of the Spirit of God in the history of mankind, as well as of the individual, and serves as an organ for the realizing of the kingdom of God on earth, and for the spiritualizing and ennobling of man's life through the Spirit of God.

Already in the Old Testament (Gen. i. 26, 27, ii. 7), expression was given to man's longing after relationship with God, and, in accordance therewith, the Church doctrine has formulated its dogma of the divine image. The Protestant Church has regarded the divine image as belonging to man in creation. Therein lies the truth of the Church doctrine; but, inasmuch as it conceives of the divine image as spiritual and physical completeness, and represents this as the actual condition of the first man (*status integritatis*), it identifies, in an unhistorical way, idea and reality. The idea is the final end, and the innate divine image in man belongs to his essence, not merely as the beginning, but as the potential foundation, from which the spiritual life of man must be developed. The dogma of the Roman Catholic Church is superficial. It distinguishes between *imago* and *similitudo Dei*, and considers that only the former, as reason and free will, is innate in man, whereas the divine principle of life in man, the divine likeness belonging to his inmost being, the *similitudo Dei*, is

regarded as a *donum supernaturale*, as a *donum superadditum*, as a gift bestowed by God on human nature. This idea of the divine likeness in man lies also at the foundation of the Church dogma of the Person of Christ. What was realized in Christ, the perfect revelation of God, what the Church doctrine conceives of as the incarnation of God in Christ, points back to an original and uninterruptedly continued revelation of God in the spirit of man. The Logos, who was from eternity with God, has also from eternity become man. What in the New Testament is said of Christ, that the Logos was made flesh in Him, is a statement regarding man in general, inasmuch as the divine is innate in every man (Acts xvii. 27, 28). This original consciousness of God, innate in human nature, is the paradise, in which the child is surrounded by the streams of the divine love, a condition, which the Church doctrine represents as that of the first man; which, however, was not only the condition of the first man, but is the first condition of all men.

Proofs of the existence of God have for their presupposition the consciousness of the infinite innate in the human spirit. The more importance they have for science, the less have they for the believing consciousness. All those proofs, the cosmological, the physico-theological, the historical, the moral, the ontological, cannot lead to a mathematical proof of the existence of God, nor even to a proof of the existence of God as an object of empirical knowledge, but are valid only as a proof, that the human spirit, by its consideration of the whole range of empirical being, is necessitated, in accordance with the laws of its very nature, to assume an absolute intelligent author of the world, a spiritual ultimate ground of the natural and spiritual universe. Man, therefore, must assume, not only that God is, but also that He is not the Absolute, the Infinite, the Universal, which is identical with the universe, but the Absolute Spirit, at once transcending the world and immanent in it. The mode of creation, however, is, like the

idea of God itself, a mystery to human reason, and here the word of the apostle (1 Cor. xiii. 12) applies to theology and to philosophy.

Dogmatics accepts and must adopt this positive standpoint of ideal theism. From this it proceeds, maintaining a free and independent attitude toward natural science and philosophy. Exact natural science has nothing to do with God, and the religious consciousness has nothing to do with natural science. Owing to its direct reference to God, the Christian faith is independent of any theory of nature and the world. The Old Testament view of nature passed over into Christianity, and faith was associated with it, and it is said in Scripture, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away (Matt. xxiv. 35). For theology, on the other hand, which, in its dogmatics, has to reach a universal theory of the world from religious foundations, the generally admitted results of the investigation of nature are of the utmost significance. They are to be thankfully accepted, and employed in the scientific construction of theology. Instead of assuming an attitude of hostility toward natural science, theology has rather the assurance in itself, that the more comprehensive and thorough the investigation of the life of nature is, the more profound will be the knowledge of God and of His creation. Theology admits philosophy into its spiritual realm for the freest investigation. But if a materialist philosophy appears which operates upon the mere results of natural science, and, resting on these, proclaims atheism as the highest truth, dogmatics must bring Christian idealism into the conflict against such false philosophy, and must, likewise, oppose its theistic metaphysics to a pantheistic philosophy, which concludes at the point where speculative thinking has to begin. How far it is right in this proceeding, philosophy itself may decide. At its positive standpoint theology feels confident, that those tendencies contested by it will not be able to maintain their ground before the tribunal

of philosophy itself, and it can entertain this assurance all the more confidently, since in the present time a philosophy gains currency, which coincides with theology in maintaining an ideal theism.[1]

SECOND DIVISION—THE SEPARATION BETWEEN MAN AND GOD.—Human freedom as a psychological fact, and one ordained of God, is joined with man's original close connection with God, or his essential destination to divine fellowship. Man is a natural and a spiritual being. As a spiritual being he is related to God, and by reason of his freedom is superior to nature; his development is not under the law of natural necessity, but is conditioned by his own self-determination. As compared with God, he is a finite spirit, whose finiteness consists in his formal freedom, by means of which it is made possible for him to dissolve his original connection with God, and to free himself from the divine fellowship immanent in him. This possibility, according to the Scripture doctrine, has become a universal fact. Man is found in a condition of estrangement from God and enmity toward God. Sin has obtained dominion over him, and has broken the bond that should bind God and man together. This is already expressed in the μετανοεῖτε, the call to repentance, with which Christ begins His preaching to man, and, by numerous passages, is shown to be the fundamental doctrine of the Bible (1 Kings viii. 46; Job xv. 14; Ps. xiv. 2, cxvi. 11, cxliii. 3; Prov. xx. 9; Eccles. vii. 20; Rom. iii. 23, v. 12 ff., vi. 17, vii. 14,

[1] J. H. Fichte, Ueber die Bedingungen eines speculativen Theismus. Elberfeld 1835. By the same author: Die theistische Weltansicht und ihre Berechtigung. Leipzig 1873. By the same: Fragen und Bedenken über die nächste Fortbildung deutscher Speculation. Leipzig 1876. H. Ulrici, Gott und die Natur. 2 Ausg. Leipzig 1866. By the same: Gott und der Mensch. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1863–1873.—H. Lotze, Mikrokosmos. 3 Bde. Leipzig 1856–1864. [Engl. transl. announced by T. & T. Clark.] H. Lotze, System der Philosophie. 2 Thle. Leipzig 1874–1879. H. Späth, Gott und Welt. Grundzüge einer die Gegensätze der Neuzeit in sich verarbeitenden theistischen Weltanschauung. Berlin 1867.

20; Gal. iii. 22; Eph. ii. 3; Heb. xii. 1; 1 John i. 8, etc.). The Church doctrine derives the universality of the fact from the fall of the first man, from the fall of Adam. The punishment of this was the loss of the divine image. The Protestant Church doctrine considers that the divine image, which belonged to the first man in creation, the original spiritual and physical completeness, was lost in consequence of the fall, so that in this way the essence of human nature itself was corrupted. According to the Roman Catholic Church doctrine, too, the divine likeness, as *similitudo Dei*, was lost; nothing remains to Adam after the fall but the *imago Dei*, the rational freedom of will. The sin committed by our first parent became the heritage of all his descendants, so that they, as affected with original sin, have to suffer the same punishment with Adam, the loss of the divine likeness, and are found, according to the Protestant doctrine, in a condition of complete ungodliness, living in sin and spiritual darkness (*status corruptionis*). The truth, which lies in the Church dogma, amounts only to that which Holy Scripture also maintains, that all men are sinners. But the proof, which the dogma offers of it, has no foundation. Even apart from the fact, that Adam's possession of the divine image presupposed by it does not explain how it became possible for Adam himself to fall, the dogma puts in place of sin, the universality of which has to be proved, a conception, by means of which the idea of sin itself is destroyed. Original sin (inherited sin) is a *contradictio in adjecto*. Sin is an act of the human will (causa peccati est voluntas malorum. Conf. Aug. 19), and as such cannot descend by physical communication to others, but only as an act of will can arise in others. The universality of sin, therefore, is not to be derived as an inheritance from Adam, but as a determination of human nature and freedom of will. The paradisaical condition of childhood is at an end, so soon as man enters upon a life of self-consciousness. As man asserts his freedom over against

nature, and seeks to affirm his natural self over against the forces of nature, his self-love and his self-will lead him also to oppose God, of whom he has become conscious as a being existing outside of him, and, forgetful of his essential destination to fellowship with God, he sets himself, in the interest of his natural self, in antagonism to the divine ordinances, and to the decrees and determinations of the divine will. By means of his freedom, which has selfishness for its content, man falls into sin, into separation from God, and thereby comes into opposition to his own innermost nature. The connection with God immanent in him, he has, in the exercise of his freedom, exchanged for separation from God. The relation between God and man is reversed by sin. The will of God absolutely opposes sin, and so the sinful act of the human will runs directly counter to the divine will and calls forth the divine wrath. This is a separation between God and man which, so soon as man becomes conscious of it, produces an anguish of soul that gnaws the inmost marrow of his spiritual life, and drives the man, who allows sin to gain dominion over him, to despair of himself. This separation finds expression in all religions. The history of religion is the most satisfactory witness to the universality of the fact. The more developed the consciousness of God is, the more developed also is the consciousness of sin, and the more keen the religious conscience has become, by means of this development, the more tormenting and distracting is the anguish of soul, which is awakened by sin. That man, in his empirical existence, is found in a state of sin, as Holy Scripture affirms, is a fact of experience, which is to be explained from the natural condition of man and is witnessed to by history. Neither theology nor philosophy can prove that every man must actually sin. This much only can be proved from the nature of his being, that sin approaches him as temptation, and that at least as temptation he has to conquer it. The proof of the universality of sin can only fall back upon the

testimony of the individual self-consciousness. What the Church doctrine says of Adam, what it regards as happening at a particular time in one man, and from him descending physically as a heritage to all his posterity, is a universally human act. Not inherited sin, but actual sinning, has passed from Adam to all his posterity, though yet it cannot be proved that every man must sin. Every one, however, who sins, has, with his consciousness of sin, at the same time, the consciousness that, in accordance with his innermost essence, he ought to have acted differently, and that he might have acted differently, if he had actually wished. The consciousness of guilt, which is always associated with the consciousness of sin, proves that sin is an act of the human will. But the religious conscience, the relation to God immanent in human nature, is the presupposition of both the consciousness of sin and the consciousness of guilt. Before his own conscience man knows himself to be a sinner and guilty in the sight of God. Hence even by sin, conscience is not effaced in man. He may be ever so far lost in sin, he may in the exercise of his freedom have strayed ever so far away from God (Acts xvii. 27, 28), but he has not burst the bands that bind him to God. Even in the most depraved sinner, there is still existing, in the religious conscience, an affinity to God, though slumbering and overlaid by human passions. The Protestant Church doctrine is inconsequent, and at the same time untrue, inasmuch as it supposes the divine likeness, which according to it belongs in creation to human nature, to be lost by Adam's fall.[1]

THIRD DIVISION—THE RECONCILIATION OF MAN WITH GOD. —The opposition against God into which man was brought by

[1] For a treatment of the doctrine of sin, more in accordance with orthodox views, compare Julius Müller, Doctrine of Sin. 2 vols. Edin. 1868. Especially vol. ii. pp. 307–401, on the doctrine of Hereditary Sin and the Origin of Inborn Sinfulness. Also, Laidlaw, Bible Doctrine of Man. Edin. 1879.—ED.

sin led to the disturbance of man's original spiritual life. For his self-preservation, man must overcome this opposition in his own inner being. As the consciousness of sin and guilt proceeds from the religious conscience, so also there issues from it the longing and desire to rise out of estrangement from God into reunion and reconciliation with God. If the Protestant Church doctrine regards this presupposed psychological postulate as irreconcilable with its dogma of human nature corrupted by original sin, it destroys the capacity for redemption as well as the feeling of the need of redemption, and must reduce conversion to a merely supernatural operation, working upon man from without. (Formula Concordiæ, I. II.)

According to the New Testament Christology, Christ is the μεσίτης, the mediator between God and sinful man, and the σωτήρ, who delivers sinful man from sin, and works out his reconciliation with God. He is the Man begotten of the Holy Ghost, the Sinless One, who conquered sin in temptation, the incarnate Logos, and, as such, the Son of God, whom God in His infinite love sent into the world for man's redemption, who lived in absolute oneness with the Father, and, in accordance with the divine purpose, surrendered Himself to death, in free self-sacrifice, for the sins of man, and by this vicarious sacrificial death accomplished the reconciliation of man with God. (Compare § 32.) The Church doctrine has dogmatically systematized those Christological outlines contained in the New Testament. According to it Christ is the Son of God, inasmuch as in Him the second person of the Godhead assumed the human form, so that He unites in Himself in one person God and man, a double nature, the divine and the human. Since man in his state of original sin can do nothing toward his reconciliation with God, God has Himself had compassion on man in Christ, and pointed him out the way to reconciliation with Him and to eternal life. Christ, who as man felt the whole burden of man's sin, while Himself free

from sin, was alone able, by His sacrificial death, to offer to the divine righteousness, the satisfaction which God must demand, if He is to forgive men their sins and reconcile them to Himself. As through Adam sin entered the world, so again, at a particular time, through the second spiritual Adam, sin is destroyed and reconciliation with God is secured. Man, therefore, has to appropriate to himself the merits of Christ by faith, and can be assured of the grace of God, which accepts the sacrificial death of Christ as satisfaction for sins, and regards men, on the ground of their faith, as righteous before God.

According to this Church dogma, which has its roots in the New Testament, Christianity appears as a divine contrivance external to man. Christ stands apart from man, as the Son of God, in a metaphysical sense. By means, too, of the objective fact of His sacrificial death, also external to man, He delivers man from the guilt and power of sin, and effects his reconciliation with God. But Christianity in its original essence, that is, according to the religious self-consciousness of Christ and the idea of God revealed by Him, is not such an external contrivance, and the reconciliation is not such an external fact accomplished at a particular moment in time, but the most profound and inward experience of the human spirit, constantly repeating itself; and in respect of this experience Christ is the true redeemer of man, and the spiritual mediator between him and God. As the individual man, be he ever so sinful, is yet never forsaken of God, so also is it with mankind in its totality. By reason of the original divine revelation, in which the essential divine destination of man has its ground, the religious life proceeds through history constantly alongside of the sinful life; but since in the pre-Christian religions the divine never came completely into consciousness, in them, too, the might of sin was not broken. The world-wide significance of Christ consists in this, that the eternal revelation of God in Him reaches perfection, that

what had lain from eternity in the spirit of man as a religious potentiality, was fully realized in the life of Christ. In His self-consciousness, the idea of God is present in its spiritual truth, and as He brought it into consciousness, it is also the element of His will. His whole existence, His life and death, is a personal living out of absolute divine truth. Inasmuch as Christ, as a historical person, is begotten of the Holy Spirit, and is the manifested divine Logos, and the Son of God, in so far are the divine and human natures united in Him in one person, and Christ is among men the One, above whom none can rise.

The meaning of the christology of the Church has light shed upon it from its Old Testament sources, and from the various forms of christological doctrine in the New Testament. (Compare § 32.) In the latter we see clearly, that amid all the diversity the tendency of the primitive Christian community was to give prominence to the principle of the divine life, in which Christ's spiritual life consisted. Hence the truth of the christological metaphysics in the Church doctrine amounts to this, that it sets forth the idea of religion in its absolute fulfilment in Christ, as the divine-human life, and the idea of man as the possession of the divine likeness, which, however, it unhistorically regards as realized in the first man, and also unhistorically conceives of as lost to man in the fall of Adam. In this ideal conception the historical Christ is in truth the Redeemer of mankind. Inasmuch as He has realized in His person the idea of religion, the ideal divine-human life, it is by fellowship with Him that man must gain deliverance from sin and rise to the ideality of the divine-human life. The Church doctrine of the vicarious and expiatory sacrificial death of Christ has its origin in the early Christian community. The idea of sacrifice is common to all religions. In all pre-Christian religions it is conceived of in a purely external manner; sacrifice appears here as the surrender of an earthly possession, of animal or human life. This external

way of viewing sacrifice passed over from the religions of nature into Hebraism, and from that into the primitive Christian Church. (Compare § 32.) This pagan-Judaistic conception of the death of Christ, as a sacrifice presented to God for the sins of man, is irreconcilable with the Christian idea of God and Christianity as a spiritual religion. What the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. x. 4) says: "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats can take away sins," applies equally to the physical blood of Christ. In the New Covenant, concerning which the author (chap. viii. 8–12) calls the prophet Jeremiah as witness, a bleeding sacrifice has, according to Jeremiah, no longer place. By Christ Himself the outward sacrifices of the pre-Christian religions are exchanged for the true, inward sacrifice, the surrender of the human life to God, with all its sensuous, selfish, and worldly desires. Therefore, not by the outward fact of the bloody sacrificial death of Christ is a sinful man reconciled to God, but by making the inner divine life of Christ his own, by putting on Christ, as the Scripture says (Rom. xiii. 14; Gal. iii. 27), that is, entering into perfect fellowship of life with Christ. Thus out of the old man there comes a new man, out of the man of sin there comes a man endued with the Spirit of God. Redemption and reconciliation with God through Christ is not a single fact in respect of time, but something happening continuously in the spirit of man. Inasmuch as sinful man beholds in Christ the divine-human life in its perfection, the consciousness of God which, notwithstanding sin, is yet not effaced from his conscience, is again awakened. In the light of the divine truth, which was rekindled by Christ, he not only beholds the vanity and corruption of his earlier sinful life, but is also attracted with irresistible power to the perfect divine life in Christ. This is the enlightenment of the sinner proceeding from Christ. By means of this he is led immediately to repentance, which implies an insight into the blameableness

of his earlier sinful life, as well as inward longing after reconciliation with God. In repentance the power of God proves itself superior to human wilfulness, and enables man to resolve to withdraw himself with abhorrence from his sinful courses, and to surrender himself to the divine life revealed in Christ. Out of repentance springs faith, the unconditional surrender of the human heart to Christ, and through Christ to God. By means of faith the lost union with God is won again, inasmuch as the consciousness of the forgiveness of sins and of reconciliation with God is immediately connected with the spiritual sacrifice of faith. The divine life of Christ now becomes more and more the possession of the believer justified before God, so that no longer his own human wilfulness, but the Spirit of Christ, which is the Spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit, has dominion over him. The life of him that is spiritually born again is a life in God, and a growing sanctification, by means of which the believer is made free from his selfishness and the power of the finite over him, and is made partaker of the real divine-human freedom. This freedom is the freedom of the children of God won by Christ, by means of which all believers are sons of God in association with Christ, who is the only-begotten Son of God. Through Christ, they are raised into the ideal fellowship of spirit and life with God, out of that estrangement from God, into which they had been brought by sin. This fellowship, the highest end of the development of man's life, is the salvation wrought by Christ for believers, which, begun in the present world, finds in the Christian hope its completion as the eternal life of blessedness in the world to come.

Christ is thus as a historical person Revealer, Redeemer, and Saviour of man. (*Munus propheticum* cannot be fitly conferred on Christ, since He is more than a prophet, *munus sacerdotale* and *munus regium*.)

Rising out of the sinful condition to the ideal height of

human life, the appropriation of salvation proves to be a co-operating of human freedom and the Spirit of God. (*Gratia resistibilis* and *amissibilis*.) The co-operation of man does not first begin after conversion (Form. Conc. ii. 17), but even before conversion appears as the free determination of the man to separate himself from sin. At the same time, however, for the Christian consciousness and objectively the appropriation of salvation in its beginning and in its course is the work of divine love and grace. The appropriation of salvation is at the same time the imputation of salvation. It is by God remaining in man in spite of sin, and by God meeting the sinner in Christ, that man is delivered from sin, sanctified in heart, and made an heir of eternal salvation. God unceasingly pities the sinner, and man has to thank, not his own doings and deserts, but only the grace of God, for raising him again, in spite of his sin, into fellowship with God. In this lies the infinite comfort and the infinite confidence of the Christian consciousness. The Christian religious conscience, which among the saved is the immediate consciousness of spiritual boundenness to God and of spiritual freedom in God, counteracts the opposition to divine grace and to the Holy Spirit on the part of human freedom not yet wholly overcome even in the regenerate. The great doctrinal controversy of the Western Church, the controversy of Augustinianism, Pelagianism, and semi-Pelagianism, is to be estimated in accordance with these principles. Protestantism, with profound insight into the religious life, has advanced against the Roman Catholic doctrine of human merit the doctrine of the grace of God. It has, however, overlooked the element of human freedom which appears in the appropriation of salvation as the resolution to break with sin, and turn believingly to Christ, an element which has been properly made prominent by semi-Pelagianism.

With reference to the divine grace, the instrumentalities

by which man is led to salvation, are quite fitly styled means of grace. These, as indeed the Protestant Church teaches, can only be the word of God, which is contained in Holy Scripture, and the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper:—the word of God which sets forth Christ as the Revealer, Redeemer, and Saviour of men, baptism as the sacrament of incorporation into the Christian fellowship under the assurance of the redemption wrought by Christ, and the Lord's Supper as the sacrament of spiritual communion with Christ, whose death forms the climax of His devoted life.

The application of salvation is completed in the Church. The common religious consciousness leads, in the case of every religion, to the formation of a religious community, in which the inner religious life gives itself an outward form in worship. Christianity, however, is distinguished from all the pre-Christian religions, as being destined, not for a particular race, but for humanity. The highest ideal has been revealed by Christ in the idea of the kingdom of God, and all mankind is called to share in its realization. The kingdom of God is, according to its idea, humanity penetrated by the Spirit of God, and determined in its life by the Spirit of God, or called to a real spiritual and living fellowship with God. The historical organ for its manifestation is the Church, the institution ordained by God for the dispensing of salvation, which is defined as the fellowship of all believers in Christ, and is bound together, inwardly by faith and the common Christian spirit produced by it, and outwardly by certain organic forms and functions. Historically the Church has broken up into numerous sects, but each of these is a communion of believers in Christ bound together by such inward and outward conditions of life. Against Roman Catholicism, which identifies its own particular Church with the kingdom of God, the Reformation has exhibited the proper relation between idea

and reality, by its distinction of the invisible and the visible Church. The invisible Church stands over against the visible, as the idea of the Church, the kingdom of God, which transcends the existing visible Churches, but is active in all these as the idea, and makes the particular Churches more or less qualified organs of the kingdom of God. Hence, the separate Churches are all only parts of the great ecclesiastical organism in the service of the kingdom of God, and that denomination will most nearly approach the idea, which aims at nothing else than building up in the faith required by Christ, and employs for this end no other means than the word and sacraments as means of grace ordained by God and dispensed in the Spirit of Christ, while it arranges the outward organism according to the idea of Church fellowship, without ascribing thereto an absolute significance for the obtaining of salvation. The Church of the Reformation in its original form comes nearest to this idea, while the Roman Catholic Church stands farthest from it, inasmuch as, instead of making salvation and eternal blessedness dependent on the efficacy of the means of grace, it makes them dependent upon the mediation of the priesthood and obedience to an outward Church organism.

While the kingdom of God, as the invisible Church, is a subject of Christian faith, its completion in the future is a subject of Christian hope. The early Christian Church expected this completion to be soon accomplished, to be realized at definite periods in an outward act, which begins with the resurrection of Christ and closes with the final judgment. In the Church doctrine, these eschatological theories assumed the national-Jewish form, in which the early Church expressed its hopes, and in the Church, as well as in the primitive community, came to be regarded universally as historical realities. Toward no dogma does Church orthodoxy assume so wilful an attitude as toward the eschatological. Its constituent parts stand in close

relation to one another, so that one cannot be taken out at pleasure, and all the rest retained. If the resurrection of Christ be maintained as a leading article of the faith, by denying which the foundations of the Church itself are shaken, to pretend that all the other articles of the dogma, the ascension of Christ, His sitting at God's right hand, the visible coming again of Christ, the thousand years' reign, the first and second resurrections, the final judgment of good and bad, the destruction of Satan and all antichristian powers, the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, and the founding of a new Jerusalem with its glorious surroundings, are entitled to the same belief as the resurrection of Christ, especially the declaration, that they are the foundation of the Church, is historically quite untenable. Nevertheless, history itself, which passed lightly over the expectations of the early Christian Church, without fulfilling them in the way looked for, and also the origin of those expectations in prophetical and apocalyptical views of Judaism, prove that the eschatological pictures have their truth, not in their historicity, but in their ideal contents, that they are therefore to be conceived of, not dogmatically as historical realities, but as a sacred drama, in which the early Christian community gives expression to the substance of the Christian hope. In this lies their significance for the Christian consciousness, and therefore they are rightly adopted and authenticated by the Church doctrine. But theology has here to make good a great neglect, and to obviate in the future the mischief, which the peculiar conception of the eschatological pictures has wrought in the history of the Church, by assisting the laity especially to a right understanding of them. The glorified Christ is the ideal Christ. The real personal union with Him, unto which the early Christian Church aspired, is the symbol of spiritual communion with Him. The second coming of Christ is the symbol of the actual presence of His Spirit in the Church. The life of the first Christians in

view of the second coming is the symbol of the life of the Church in the Spirit in its present state. The final judgment is the symbol of the judgment which His Spirit is uninterruptedly passing in His Church upon the good and evil (Matt. xxv. 31-46; John iii. 19-21, xvi. 7-11). The destruction of Satan and of all antichristian powers signifies the final victory over the world broken away from God and opposing His Spirit. The woes, which precede the return of Christ, are the conflicts and sufferings which, in the life of the individual and of the race, prepare the way for the Spirit of Christ. The new heavens, the new earth, and the new Jerusalem, represent humanity glorified by the Spirit of God. What sacred poetry describes as occurring outwardly at a particular period, and reaching a conclusion, is an occurrence continually taking place in humanity, the gradual and regularly continued realization of the kingdom of God in the world.

The Christian, by reason of his consciousness of God, is raised above this temporal scene to the hope of an eternal spiritual fellowship with God. The usual proofs, which are advanced on behalf of immortality, the ontological, moral, teleological, and historical, have no mathematical demonstrative force, but they all support the proof, which is derived from the nature of religion, of the continuance of the human spirit after physical death. The divine destination which belongs essentially to the human spirit, according to which it was created for communion with God, is the basis upon which the idea of an eternally continued existence of the human spirit rests. The idea of immortality stands and falls with the idea of God. Courage to deny immortality dies away under the consciousness that the means at the disposal of science are not sufficient for this purpose.[1] But, on the other hand, human thinking too must be content with aiming at some sort of definition of the idea. All sensible

[1] This applies to Biedermann, Dogmatik, S. 743.

representations and all spiritualistic superstition regarding the future are to be regarded as dreams of an unregulated fancy. Human thinking has its limits just here. The mode of the existence of God and the mode of the creation of the world, as well as the mode of eternal life, are incomprehensible to the finite spirit of man. But the idea itself he cannot surrender. On the part of the religious consciousness, the development of the kingdom of God transcends the limits and the conditions of the finite and embraces eternity.

In dogmatics, the ecclesiastical and theological contradictions appear in their most determined form. For a thorough study of these, the dogmatic systems of diverse tendencies must be referred to. In recent times, dogmatics has been treated from the supernaturalistic standpoint by Storr, Reinhard, Knapp, Hahn, Steudel, W. Böhmer, Ebrard, Thomasius, Liebner, Philippi, Kahnis, Hoffmann, Luthardt (Hodge and Oosterzee); from the rationalistic standpoint by Wegscheider, Bretschneider, Rückert; in an original manner, or, at least, free from the onesidedness of those two tendencies, by Schleiermacher, de Wette, Hase, Twesten, Nitzsch [Engl. transl.: System of Chr. Doctrine. Edin. 1849], J. P. Lange, Martensen [Engl. transl.: Chr. Dogmatics. Edin. 1866], Schenkel, Lipsius, Rothe, Dorner [Engl. transl.: System of Christian Doctrine. 4 vols. Edin. 1880–1882]; from the speculative standpoint by Daub, Marheineke, Strauss, Weisse, H. Lang, Biedermann. The Reformed Church doctrine has been expounded by Alex. Schweizer; that of the Roman Catholic Church by Hermes, Fr. Baader, Klee, Staudenmaier, Günther, Peronne.

§ 43. ETHICS.

Ethics is the complement of dogmatics. The idea of religion, which is set forth by dogmatics as the contents of the Christian self-consciousness, forms likewise the contents of the Christian self-determination and the norm of the Christian life. The spiritual fellowship with God which the Christian enjoys has to be realized in practical life by free human action. Ethics is the science of the Christian life and fellowship with God, or the moral life determined by the Spirit of God. Inasmuch as the idea of religion, as a fellowship of spirit and life with God, was perfectly realized in Christ, ethics may also be defined as the science of the human life in imitation of Christ. Inasmuch as it shows how the divine-human life of Christ is to be realized by free human conduct in all the spheres of man's life, it may also be regarded as the science of the realization of the kingdom of God on earth. Diverse as the conceptions of theological ethics are, every one perceives the connection which subsists between ethics and dogmatics. The connection between the two branches is so close, that a separation of them can only result in loss to ethics. The relation is, generally speaking, this: Ethics rests upon a dogmatic foundation, and has to borrow its principles from dogmatics, so that its essential task amounts to this, that it points out how those dogmatic principles have to construct for themselves universal laws dominating the human life. Hence, the relation between the two branches is not to be conceived of as though dogmatics treated of man in his dependence upon God, to the exclusion of freedom, and ethics treated of man in his freedom to the exclusion of his dependence. Rather the purely religious and the ethical are blended together in both branches. As in dogmatics, the appropriation of salvation presupposes an opera-

tion of the human will; in ethics, human freedom presupposes subjection unto God. Christianity as spiritual religion is at no stage of its psychological development an exercise of constraint, but free subjection and subject freedom. What is true of the Christian faith is also true of the practical life. In this sense the relation is accurately expressed in the attitude which ethics bears to dogmatics, as it appears in the actual life of faith, inasmuch as in this life the two sides, the theoretical and practical, are most directly bound together, the believer, as the truly religious man, immediately converts the contents of his religious consciousness into action.

In consequence of the connection subsisting between ethics and dogmatics, both are to be equally regarded as positive sciences, and as such theological ethics is distinguished from philosophical ethics. Rothe has wrenched theological ethics completely away from dogmatics. Still more decidedly than Schleiermacher, he assigns dogmatics its place under historical theology, and treats of theological ethics in the first part of theology, in speculative theology. But speculative theology, in Rothe's use of the term, is a *contradictio in adjecto*. Rothe himself defines speculation as pure thinking, and demands of the speculatist that he proceed from the primary datum of pure thought, "from the human consciousness in its absolute purity, that is, thoroughly abstracted from all particular contents, from the pure function of consciousness." But he himself carries the idea of God into the pure thinking from the pious consciousness, and from this standpoint reaches his speculative theology. In this way he overturns the idea of speculation which he had himself laid down, and the theology, which he calls speculative, is in reality not speculative. Theology relegates speculation from pure thought to philosophy, and from it demands a speculative philosophy of religion and speculative ethics, but theology will have to construct dogmatics and ethics, as positive sciences, with the aid of rational thought common to all the sciences. Theological ethics, therefore, is

distinguished from philosophical ethics, inasmuch as it bases its principles upon dogmatic presuppositions, whereas philosophical ethics has to discover and expound its principles and moral laws purely from the human personal consciousness. But, since theological ethics has for its foundation the universally human idea of religion, and pursues no other end than the discovery of the truly human in the Christian, and the Christian in the truly human, its moral law, as well as that of philosophical ethics, lays claim to universal validity and to a binding obligation upon all men. Upon this ground, too, the hope is entertained, that philosophical and theological ethics, although, like the philosophy of religion and dogmatics, they proceed from different starting-points, will nevertheless agree in their essential results. Theological ethics, however, has always this advantage over philosophical ethics, that it requires not, as that does, to search out the moral life, and to lay down a mere theory regarding it, but has the moral idea given it in Christ, as a historical religious fact, and can set forth Christ, as a pattern, as the realized ideal of the moral life of man. Theological ethics, therefore, as a system of essentially religious morality, excludes also a great portion of the material of philosophical ethics, and deals with only the highest ideal sphere of morality, which approves itself as the absolute realization of the moral idea in the kingdom of God.

In regard to the method of treatment, the ethicist, as well as the dogmatist, must start from Holy Scripture, and especially from the life of Jesus, and must estimate the rich ethical contents of the Old and New Testaments in the light of the Christian idea. Further, just as the dogmatist has to give his attention to the development of doctrine, the ethicist has to consider the various forms of the moral life, which Church history represents the Christian as having given shape to under special temporal influences, and particularly, in special Church communities, as diverse phases of the development of Christian morality. While dogmatics presupposes the history

of doctrines, ethics has the history of Christian culture for its presupposition. Previous treatises on Christian ethics are specially to be used by the ethicist. The literature of ethics is much poorer than that of dogmatics. Many-sided and interesting as the historical development of the Christian life has been, the Christian intellect has always concerned itself more with dogmatic, than with ethical problems. Even the Reformation, although in its principle of faith it restored again the basis for the construction of ethics, and took, as its foundation, Holy Scripture, which in the most emphatic way makes the ethical element in religion prominent, has shown less interest in this aspect of the religious life than might have been expected. Obliged by the conflict with Roman Catholicism to emphasize faith's immediate reference to God, it gave attention chiefly to the construction of a dogmatic system, and, especially in the seventeenth century, when the dominion of dogmatism was at its height, the consciousness of the importance of ethics fell more and more into the background. Pietism, however, with its one-sided and world-forsaking devoutness, was equally unable to lead to a proper estimate and recognition of the moral contents of Christianity. Rationalism, and the systems in which philosophy was blended with theology, deserve the credit of having first led to the clearer recognition of the ethical importance of Christianity, and of having secured a special prominence in modern theology to Christian ethics.[1]

In consequence of the neglect shown toward ethics, as compared with dogmatics, until recent times, ethics has not attained the same systematic precision and the same exactness

[1] Compare on the history of ethics, Hagenbach's Encyclopädie, S. 369 ff. [Engl. transl. p. 462 ff.] Rothe's Ethik, Bd. 4, S. xxii. ff. Dorner's article "Ethik," in Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie. Bd. 4, 349-373. E. Feuerlein, Die Sittenlehre des Christenthums in ihren geschichtlichen Hauptformen. Tübingen 1855. [Wuttke, Christian Ethics. Edin. 1873. Vol. i. pp. 35-378. Bestmann, Geschichte des christlichen Sitte. 2 Bde. Nördlingen 1880, 1882.]

of definition as dogmatics, and in the domain of the former far greater freedom prevails, but also far greater uncertainty, and far greater vacillation, than in the domain of dogmatics; a circumstance which is highly unfavourable to the systematic construction of ethics, all the more that its material is so rich and varied. This is seen in the great diversity which prevails among ethicists in reference to the division of ethics.[1] The division into a General Part which treats of principles, and a Special Part which treats of the particular manifestations of moral conduct, is rightly condemned by Rothe (Ethik, Bd. 1, S. 406 f.). The threefold division of Schleiermacher, founded upon his philosophical ethics, into the doctrine of the Good, of Virtue, and of Duties, meets with more general acceptance. Rothe, too (Bd. 1, S. 396 ff.), has adopted this division in his theological Ethics. The remarks made by Lange in his Encyclopädie, S. 202 f., and by Martensen in his Ethics, General Part, pp. 52–58, against this division, should not be overlooked by ethicists. Martensen himself divides Ethics into a theoretical (General) part, and a practical (Special) part. After an introduction on the notion of Christian ethics, he treats in the first part of the theological (or rather dogmatic) presuppositions of Christian ethics, then of the fundamental conceptions of ethics, the Highest Good, Virtue, and the Law; in the second practical part, he treats (1) of Individual Ethics, and (2) of Social Ethics; and so the end of the first part leads to the beginning of the second, and the end of the second leads back to the beginning of the first. The dogmatic postulates should be treated in the introduction rather than in the first part. But passing over that, the general point of view, which determines this arrangement, may be heartily accepted, yet in view of the fact that the whole of ethics has a practical character, the division does not commend itself. Just these fundamental conceptions of ethics have an eminently practical

[1] Compare on the various schemes of division, Pelt, Encyclopädie, S. 519.

significance, and instead of being discussed in a general, theoretical part, should rather be treated in a first part co-ordinated with the following parts. In its systematic elaboration ethics must begin with an introduction, in which the idea of Christian ethics, its relations to dogmatics, its dogmatic postulates, its relations to philosophical ethics, and its history, are to be discussed, and its distribution laid down. On the ground of its connection with dogmatics, we divide ethics into three parts, which, like the divisions of dogmatics, stand formally in relation to one another, as thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; the first has to expound the ethical principles, the second the reign of sin, the third the reality of the ideal morality.

FIRST DIVISION—EXPOSITION OF PRINCIPLES.—The kingdom of God, the final aim of dogmatics, is, ethically considered, the highest good of mankind. This is realized historically by the Church. Therefore, the whole membership of the Church has to serve this highest ethical purpose, and each member ought personally to qualify himself for its realization. Now the highest good, which is objectively represented in the kingdom of God as the chief end of man, coincides with the highest good, which the individual believer has to appropriate ethically in his own person. By doing this, he attains his own highest destiny, and at the same time, co-operates with the Church in accomplishing her chief end. The spiritual fellowship with God, which, according to dogmatics, the believer enjoys, should become with him an actual life in God; what has been accomplished within him by means of the act of regeneration, ought to be expressed in the whole course of his conduct. Hence, the principle of the Christian life is the Spirit of God. The religious conscience, which makes the believer feel his dependence on God, and, at the same time, his freedom in God, shows itself in an ethical form as the immediate consciousness, that he should sanctify his spiritual life by the Spirit of God, and subordinate his individual

human will to the divine will. The law which, along with the gospel, is contained in Holy Scripture, leads the Christian, not only to a knowledge of his sin, but, inasmuch as it is an outflow from the idea of God, to real freedom in God. In the conscience the Spirit of God operates as a power which man can never cast off, but which he may resist. As man may overcome the natural necessity, to which he is subject, by means of his freedom, so too he can set his own will in opposition to the divine will. Determinism and Indeterminism have both a relative truth. Obedience to the divine will, as well as sin, is an act of human will. The power of the divine will over the human is not compulsory. The Christian obeys the divine will, because he finds in this obedience his true ideal freedom. The law given him in the very idea of God is the perfect law of liberty and of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus (Jas. i. 25; Rom. viii. 2). The Christian fulfilment of the law is not an Old Testament legal performance, but an ethical act; the theonomy of Christian conduct is not a heteronomy but an autonomy. The demand of conscience, that the human will should subordinate and attach itself to the divine, is the idea of duty, and the real harmony of mind and will with duty, as an inner fact and habitual condition, is virtue. The ideal of Christian morality is, therefore, the personal life constantly determined by the Spirit of God, and in theological ethics, this ideal is not given as an abstract and transcendent fact, but as a fact realized in the historical life of Jesus. As Christ, dogmatically considered, is the Revealer, the Redeemer, and the Saviour of man, He is, ethically considered, the ideal of man's moral life,—the life of man as a life in accordance with the example of the perfectly divine-human personality of Christ.

SECOND DIVISION—THE REIGN OF SIN.—If sin has to be treated dogmatically with direct reference to God, it has to be treated ethically with direct reference to man. If, in the

former case, it be described as the derangement and disturbance of the original religious relation between God and man, in the latter, it appears as the power which proves hostile to the ethical destiny of the individual man and of the whole human race. Sin, a universally human act, which, breaking away from God, sets human wilfulness over the absolute necessity of the divine will, springs from selfishness. Continued from generation to generation, sin has developed in historical progression into a power, which physically and ethically corrupts human nature, and, if not checked by a higher power, will, by means of sensuous and ungodly desires and passions, which it awakens in sinful man, shatter the individual human life and the life of mankind as a whole. This dominion of sin in its objectivity is the kingdom of Satan, which, as man's own work, forms a direct contradiction to the idea of the Christian life and to the Christian idea of the kingdom of God. Even from the natural sphere of human life, certain bounds are, indeed, put upon sin, and thus means of furthering morality are furnished. Among these are *experience*, which instructs the individual as to the vanity and transitoriness of the life of sense and self-will; *marriage*, in which selfishness is checked through the intercommunion of love; *social life*, in which the wilfulness of one is brought into contact with that of others; *the State*, which restrains the self-will of the individuals composing it by its laws and penalties. But neither the teaching of experience, nor the bond of the family, nor the ordinance of society, nor the laws of the State, although they all form a pathway to morality, and necessitate the subordination of the individual will to the general, nor even the moral laws of philosophical ethics derived from human nature and social life, afford an actual power over sin. In spite of all experience, the individual, by reason of his weakness, falls ever anew into sin; instead of the loving bond, which should hold the family together, we have the marriage law; the habits and customs of social life

exhibit a morality, which is only determined by selfishness, and, when those artificial limits are broken through, threatens to break out into a war of all against all; the laws of the State restrain, but do not tame, the passions; the moral laws state their demands, but give not the power to obey them. Experience and moral law, if they are to be morally effective, must have at their foundation religious motives: family, society, and State have, indeed, before and apart from Christianity, assumed the form of moral organisms, but they can become the channels of the moral life, only through the religious-ethical principle of Christianity.

THIRD DIVISION—THE REALITY OF THE IDEAL MORALITY, OR THE REALIZATION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD ON EARTH.—The love of God, which is revealed in Christ, is the creative power by which love to God is called forth in man (1 John iv. 19). If dogmatically love to God is the immediate evidence of the idea of God dwelling in the believer, it is ethically for the Christian conscience the highest duty as the source of all other duties, and of all Christian virtues (Matt. xxii. 37-40). The life of the Christian should be a life in the Spirit of God and in love to God. The Spirit of God, whom the regenerate receives in faith as the ground of his new life, enables him not only to pass through the conflict with sin, which is required of even the regenerate, but also to sanctify his whole inner life according to the standard of the idea of God, and, by subordinating his individual human will and desire to the absolute divine will, to attain unto freedom in God, for which in his innermost nature he is destined. As, according to the Old Testament, the eye of God is upon the holy land, and is wounded by every wrong done by His people, so, according to the New Testament, every human being is a holy land, from which everything ungodly must disappear before the eye of God. Yea, according as man forsakes his selfishness and wilfulness, and places everything finite, after which he strives, for

which he works and lives, at the service of God and the divine purposes, he secures his own blessedness. Life in God, as the idea of Christian virtue, is the highest blessedness of man, which cannot be reft from him by any outward misfortune: life in opposition to God, as a life of sin, is his deepest misery, of which no outward good fortune can relieve him. That man's ethical condition is, indeed, affected by the outward circumstances of his life, experience shows; but the connection is not a necessary one. In this lies the truth and untruth of the Old Testament doctrine of rewards. In that same sphere of finiteness, moves also the opposition of optimism and pessimism, according to which the worth of human life is estimated by the happiness it affords. It is surmounted by Christian ethics, which subordinates the whole domain of the finite to ideal ends. The life of the Christian, which finds its goal in these, is maintained and furthered by the example of Christ that is given him, and by prayer. Faithfulness to that pattern, and prayer, in which, through struggle against sin and striving and agonizing after inward holiness, the Christian obtains the assistance and support of the Holy Spirit, are the only true forms of asceticism, which Christian ethics demands and allows. An asceticism, in the sense of the Roman Catholic Church, as a method of attaining to a higher place in heaven by means of specially meritorious works, it must utterly repudiate.

In the faithful imitation of Christ, the Christian does not follow particular moral commands, which he has to keep in view in regard to each particular circumstance, but he acts from a heart possessed of and resigned to God, so that all collision of duties is resolved in the inmost sanctuary of his conscience. Hence a special system of casuistry cannot be admitted, as it is in the Roman Catholic Church. In such life and conduct in the Spirit of God, every individual Christian, however diverse the influences of birth, education, culture, and position in life may be, ought to mould himself into that

free Christian personality, which has to make itself felt in the various spheres of life, as Christian character. Christian morality is very far from regarding the family, society, and the State, as the kingdom of the world, from which the Christian must flee, in order to devote himself to a purely contemplative life, and in this way to prepare for the other world. On the contrary, it acknowledges these as having been, even before Christianity, existing organizations of the moral life, which only need to be filled with the principle of the Christian life, in order that they may become what they ought to be. In the family, in society, in the State, every aspect of the godly life must be cultivated, in order that sin, human suffering and misery may the more energetically be grappled with, and mankind as a whole be ever brought nearer its goal,—humanity penetrated by the Spirit of God. Love, the natural bond of the family, has its ground and holding only in the God-resigned temper of its members. From the family, through education and the school, it should be transferred to society, so that each individual should see in his neighbour a fellow-creature equally precious in the sight of God and destined to the same end of an eternal divine life, and do and promote all things in love to one another. The State, too, with its law, has, for the foundation of its existence, the ideal-moral disposition of its citizens, which subjects them to its law, inasmuch as it obeys the law from a free impulse, and does more than the law demands. By this Spirit, too, the spiritual forces of civil and social life, art, literature, and science should be penetrated, and they should set themselves the task of rearing by its means the moral ideal in all the spheres of human life. Outside of the limits of the State, Christian ethics demands a confederation of nations, in which the States will recognise each other without particularistic self-seeking and jealousy, and each nation, according to its special circumstances, will have its place determined by the standard of divine law.

In all these stages of development, we see the realization of the kingdom of God on earth which proceeds uninterruptedly in history. The organization, by which the historical course is regularly maintained, from which it issues, and from which it constantly receives its ideal impulses and motives, is the Church. If dogmatically the Church is the immediate result of the religious consciousness, it appears here as an ethical requirement. As every individual has the religious longing after attachment to a Church communion, he has also the moral obligation to promote on his part the organization, of which it is the chief aim to raise the whole human race into a religious-moral communion, and to elevate it above the limit of the finite, by means of the hope that springs from faith, into an eternal kingdom of the Spirit. The idea of immortality, which dogmatically rests upon the idea of God, is, at the same time, an ethical postulate derived from the deepest impulses of life, which is not directed to a compensation hereafter for undeserved fortune or misfortune on earth, but to the spiritual perfecting of life in God which takes place in eternity, to which all men are destined and called by the love of God.

The most recent Protestant treatises on ethics are those of De Wette, Schwarz, Baumgarten-Crusius, Sartorius [Eng. transl.: The Doctrine of Divine Love. Edin. 1884], Merz, Harless [Eng. transl.: System of Christian Ethics. Edin. 1868], Schleiermacher, Rothe, Marheineke, Böhme, Jäger, Wuttke [Eng. transl.: Christian Ethics. 2 vols. Edin. 1873], Schmid, Palmer, Vilmar, Martensen [Eng. transl.: Christian Ethics (General, Individual, Social). 3 vols. Edin. 1873, 1881, 1882], Oettingen. The more prominent Roman Catholic writers on ethics in modern times are Sailer, Schreiber, Vogelsang, Hirscher, Probst, Werner.

FOURTH DIVISION.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.[1]

§ 44. INTRODUCTION TO AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE task of the philosopher ends with the philosophy of religion and philosophical ethics, but that of the theologian does not end with systematic theology. The philosopher must content himself with laying down the theory, and cannot determine how it is to be carried out and practically accomplished in the life. The theologian, on the other hand, who stands with his science in the midst of the Church, meets with the Church as an organized institution, by means of which the Christian faith, as ideally set forth in systematic theology, has to be wrought into the practical, every-day life of the Christian community. Hence theology cannot leave this organized institution unnoticed, but has to perform its last scientific task upon it. Christianity has been developed from the beginning down to the present as Church life, and as such passes on from the present into the future. It is the business of theology to establish the norms of the Church life. The Church organization, which theology meets with, is not found by it in one simple form. In consequence of diverse conceptions of faith, under the influence of national peculiarities and special historical circumstances, each of the ecclesiastical denominations has constructed that organization by which it marks itself off as a separate Church. Those empirically

existing various Church organizations form the historical basis from which theology has to determine the scientific idea of the Christian Church, and to indicate that form of it, which is best fitted for the practical realization of the Christian faith. This is, generally speaking, the task of practical theology. Its scientific representatives differ widely from one another regarding its idea and distribution; but even here, the advance of theological science has led to a conception, with regard to which there may be by and by general agreement. In the primitive Church there was no need for a practical theology.[1] In a purely spontaneous way, out of the life of faith of the first Christians, sprang the activities which prepared the way for and consolidated the ecclesiastical organization. Only elementary contributions to practical theology from apostolic times are found in the New Testament, hints about the management of congregations, injunctions to their leaders and presidents, to the Churches themselves in regard to their poor, attention to their sick, and also, in the apostolic *canones* and *constitutiones*, and in the decrees of particular Synods, and in the old Church theology. In the ancient Church generally, the theological sciences were placed under the practical-churchly point of view, and brought into relation to the various ecclesiastical orders, so that it was saved from giving attention to a special practical theology. Soon, however, the priestly order pressed into the foreground. The churchly interest led to the tabulating of the acquirements and moral attributes, which were requisite in the priest for the discharge of his office. The writing of Chrysostom, *de sacerdotio*, and that of Rabanus Maurus, *de clericorum institutione*, have more of the character of a practical theology, than of a theological encyclopædia. (Compare § 2 and 3.) After the example of Rabanus, several writings of the Middle Ages take for their

[1] On the history of practical theology, compare C. I. Nitzsch, Praktische Theologie, Bd. i. S. 39–122; C. B. Moll, System der Praktischen Theologie, S. 14 ff.; and Harnack, Praktische Theologie, S. 29 ff.

subject the priestly, or specially, the episcopal office. Afterwards when, in consequence of the Reformation, the ministerial office had been put in place of the priestly, Protestant theology, in opposition especially to the Romish conception, set about expounding the tasks of the pastoral office. From this time forth, practical theology was identified with pastoral theology, and, under the name of applied theology, *theologia applicata*, was introduced into the circle of the theological sciences as a distinct branch. This character practical theology has maintained down to recent times;—in the Roman Catholic Church, as a guide for the instruction of priests; in the Protestant Church, as a guide for the instruction of ministers, who hold the pastoral office. Toward the end of last century, however, it was perceived that practical theology, conceived of in this way, could not be reckoned a theological science. Planck, Nösselt, and Tittmann excluded practical theology from the circle of the theological branches, and the Roman Catholic Dobmayer relegated it to the theological seminaries. (Compare § 5.) A higher conception of practical theology than the ordinary one was, after the example of the Reformed theologians Hyperius and Alsted, introduced by Schleiermacher. His merit consists in this, that he delivered practical theology from the narrow reference to the ministerial office, and associated it with the whole range of Church guidance. While theoretical theology supplies the accomplishments necessary for Church guidance, practical theology has to supply the directions required for the Church ministrations and the Church government, into which Church guidance is divided. With this exposition given in his Encyclopædic Treatise, the comprehensive exposition in his Lectures on Practical Theology essentially agrees.[1] But practical theology according to this doctrine of Schleiermacher is infected throughout, in its

[1] Die Praktische Theologie nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhang dargestellt von Fr. Schleiermacher. Herausgegeben von J. Frerichs. Berlin 1850. (Werke, i. Bd. 13.)

derivation, its distribution, its subject and object, with the character of fortuitousness. Of this, too, Schleiermacher himself was fully conscious; for he claims for it validity only in the evangelical Church, and indeed only in the German Evangelical Church. (Compare § 6.) He was able, indeed, in accordance with his general conception of theology, to regard practical theology as the crown of theology;[1] it is not, however, a tree-crown grown from the stem, but an artificial graft, which every one may treat as he pleases. Notwithstanding the enlarged conception of practical theology given by Schleiermacher, and notwithstanding the rich material with which he has filled up its various parts, even he has not succeeded in bringing it into an inner organic connection with scientific theology. The disciples of Schleiermacher have applied themselves to the elaboration of practical theology, starting from Schleiermacher's more elevated conception of the science, and, at the same time, seeking to avoid its defects, and especially endeavouring to justify its being ranked among the theological sciences. Among these may be mentioned, the encyclopædists, Rosenkranz and Hagenbach, and, as writers of monographs, Nitzsch,[2] A. Schweizer,[3] Marheineke,[4] and Liebner.[5] The efforts of Schleiermacher, and of the theologians just named, have been subjected to criticism, partly appreciative, partly corrective, on the Roman Catholic side by Graf,[6] on the Protestant side by Harnack.[7] The conviction had gained ground and was

[1] Compare Encyclopädische Darstellung. 1 Ausg. § 31.

[2] C. I. Nitzsch, Ad theologiam practicam felicius excolendam observationes. Bonn 1831.

[3] A. Schweizer, Ueber Begriff und Eintheilung der praktischen Theologie. Leipzig 1836.

[4] Ph. Marheineke, Entwurf der praktischen Theologie. Berlin 1837.

[5] Liebner, Die praktische Theologie. Abhandlung in den Stud. u. Krit. Jahrg. 1843, Heft 3, and 1844, Heft 1.

[6] A. Graf, Kritische Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der praktischen Theologie. Abth. 1. Tübingen 1841.

[7] Th. Harnack, De theologia practica recte definienda et adornanda. Dorpati 1847.

confirmed, especially by the two critics just named, that practical theology could not have a place among the theological sciences, either as a guide to ministerial practice, or as the theory of an art of Church guidance; that to secure such a rank, it must be extended to the Church life generally, and must be developed into a theory of Church activities. But although Nitzsch (*l.c.* p. 12) had admirably expressed his criticism in few words: *ministerium etiam regit, regimen ministrat*, and had himself, in a more fundamental and a more conservative way, distributed the Church activities, while Marheineke made the division according to a logical construction descending from the Church universal, through the special denominations down to the individual congregation, and Rosenkranz, in the second edition of his Encyclopädie, adopted the same distribution, merely reversing the order, the division of Schleiermacher into a system of Church government and Church ministrations, was generally retained, even by Graf and Harnack. This answered precisely to the Roman Catholic Church guidance at the hands of ecclesiastical superiors and ministers of the Church, but also, no less to the evangelical system of members of consistories and pastors, from which directly Schleiermacher borrowed it. Drey, evidently influenced by Schleiermacher, received practical theology into the organism of theology as the system of the Church in respect of worship and constitution, while, as a guide to the clergy for their official duties, he excluded it from theological science. So, too, Klee, Buchner, and Staudenmaier. (Compare § 6.) Graf (S. 186) considered it specially creditable to Schleiermacher, that he introduced the doctrine of Church government into practical theology, and cannot restrain his astonishment that this doctrine, so important for Catholic theology, had been so long overlooked by it. He defines practical theology as the science of ecclesiastical, divine-human activities exercised by ecclesiastically ordained persons, pre-eminently those of clerical rank, for the edification of the

Church (S. 149); and divides it (S. 270) into the science of Church government and the science of the Church ministration. The latter, he subdivides into (1) Church ministration for the individual congregation, (2) Church ministration among unbelievers (Jews and pagans), and (3) Church ministration to the officially-appointed teachers of theology. The defects of the special division of Church ministration are apparent. The chief defect is that Graf, from his Roman Catholic standpoint, distinguishes the Catholic practical theology from the Protestant (S. 281), and adopts the Catholic Church constitution as firmly established, so that, while he always makes the express demand, that practical theology should be raised out of the empirical domain, in the doctrine of Church government he just falls into the realm of empiricism.

Graf's criticism has not been neglected by Protestant theology, and it has not been without effect on the subsequent treatment of practical theology. Pelt, in his Encyclopädie (S. 560 ff.), defines practical theology "as a scientific knowledge of the self-development of the Church, not merely of certain activities of the clergymen for it," or "as the self-consciousness of the Church about the laws of its own proceeding in the future." Practically it is with him the theory of an action, which is not, like theoretical theology, knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but, according to Marheineke, knowledge for the sake of practice, "but still always a systematized knowledge, not a mere sum-total of rules of art." He derives its division from the self-unfolding of the existing Church, and accordingly distinguishes, — (1) The Doctrine of Church Organization, or Ecclesiastics, (*a*) Ecclesiastical Principles, (*b*) Liturgics; (2) The Doctrine of Church Government, (*a*) Church Law, (*b*) Theory of Pastoral Care; and (3) The doctrine of Church Ministration, (*a*) Homiletics, (*b*) Catechetics, (*c*) Scientific Pædeutics. In its treatment, he assumes the standpoint of the evangelical Church. According to

Gaupp,[1] too, practical theology has to do, not with mere technical rules, but with the living practice of the Church. Under the guidance of the idea of theology, he defines practical theology as "the theory of the activities of the Church, by means of which it is continuously developed in accordance with its idea, so as to reach its completion." He takes the idea of the Church as his principle of distribution, and divides practical theology into — (1) the Theory of Christian Worship or Liturgics, (2) the Theory of the Church Ministrations or Homiletics, Pastoral Theology and Catechetics, and (3) the Theory of Church Government. (Th. 1, S. 1–40.) In accordance with this conception, Gaupp, although himself (according to his Preface, S. vi.) occupying a decided Lutheran confessional standpoint, maintains, what is specially commendable, that practical theology is not to be restricted within the limits of a confessional system, but must have a universal Christian standpoint. Moll,[2] likewise, conceives of practical theology as the theory of Church functions. After treating in his first part of the *Physiology* of the Church, he deduces, in the second part, the Church functions from the essential nature of the Church, and divides them into the regulative, teaching, and edifying activities. Nitzsch and Harnack have given in their larger works a systematic exposition of the outlines sketched in the programmes already referred to.[3] The former, following Schleiermacher, conceives of practical theology as the theory of an art. Its subject is the Church application of Christianity or the Church practice, and it is itself to be defined as the theory of this practice. But while Schleiermacher includes in his practical theology the tasks of

[1] K. Fr. Gaupp, Praktische Theologie. Theil 1. Die Liturgik. Theil 2. Abth. 1. Die Homiletik. Berlin 1848, 1852.

[2] C. B. Moll, Das System der praktischen Theologie im Grundriss dargestellt. Halle 1853.

[3] C. I. Nitzsch, Praktische Theologie. 2 Bde. in 3 Abth. Bonn 1847, 1848. Neue Aufl. Bd. 1–3. 1846–1867. Th. Harnack, Praktische Theologie. Th. 1, 2. Erlangen 1877.

Church government, Nitzsch will give them no place. The task of practical theology is "on the basis of the idea of the Christian Church and the Christian life, and by means of an understanding and estimation of their actual condition, to attain unto the ruling thoughts of all official Church functions." (Bd. i. S. 31 f.) Hence, like Marheineke, he lays down in his first Book (Bd. i.) the idea of the Church life, or its ideal conception, in order to reach historically the evangelical Church of the present, the Church functions of which are divided into the edifying and the regulative, the former including preaching, celebration of festivals, and care of souls, the latter including internal and external Church law, objectively as legislation, subjectively as the establishment of a form of government and constitution. In the second Book (Bd. ii.) we have Church procedure or technology; the Ministry of the Word,—Homiletics and Catechetics (Abth. 1), the Evangelical Divine Service,—Liturgics (Abth. 2), the care of souls with reference to the inner mission (Bd. iii. Abth. 1), and the evangelical Church order (Abth. 2). Nitzsch adopts essentially Schleiermacher's distribution, although in his *dissertatio* he had quite rightly indicated its defects. According to Harnack (S. 22), practical theology is so called because it has for its subject the practice of the Church. It is, therefore, the science of Church practice or of the self-development of the Church, abstractly expressed "the science of the evidence given by the Church of its working out of its idea on the basis of its past continuously in its future" (S. 23). But it can accomplish its task only from a definite Church standpoint, and in connection with a particular Church. One system of practical theology cannot serve alike for Romanism and Protestantism (S. 26 f.). It is a historical-ideal science, and has "to criticize, rectify, and apply the standard to, the Church practice" (S. 28), but, at the same time, too, shows itself practical, "as it has to do with the proper method of procedure in the exercise of the living functions of the Church." An

absolute division of practical theology has not been, and cannot be given (S. 47). "The proper division is to be won only by the self-unfolding of the biblical idea of edification" (S. 51). There are consequently two principal parts of the system; a constitutive part, which, starting from the idea of the Church, treats of its universal historical development, and its internal development; and a constructive part, which treats of the living functions of this self-developing Church, or of the Church ministrations. This latter is subdivided into—(1) The self-development of the Church as the congregation of saints by means of worship and pastoral care; (2) the self-development of the Church as an institution of grace by means of the mission and catechizing; and (3) the self-development of the Church as an outwardly organized society, or Church government. Departing from his distribution in the programme, Harnack here classifies the system of Church government under that of Church ministrations.

J. P. Lange, in his Encyclopädie (S. 208 ff.), has placed practical theology after dogmatics and ethics as the third part of his didactic theology. He defines it as the doctrine of the method for the fostering of the Christian life of faith, or as the doctrine of Christian edification: and arranges it under three parts, taken from the idea of edification in accordance with 1 Cor. chap. xii., of which the first treats of Christian charisms, the second of ecclesiastical offices, and the third of ecclesiastical functions. These last are distinguished in regard of Church government as legislation, dispensation and jurisdiction, in regard of Church ministrations as acts of initiation (halieutics or missionary activities and catechetics), acts of administration (worship, pastoral theology or pastoral wisdom, and pastoral skill or the idea of the true pastor), and acts of benediction.

Of all the specialists von Zezschwitz[1] has most correctly

[1] C. A. von Zezschwitz, System der praktischen Theologie. Paragraphen für akademische Vorlesungen. Leipzig 1876.

conceived the general character of practical theology. He separates most distinctly practical theology as a scientific system from practical theology as a technology. It is "the theory of that practice which, in the form of essential vital functions, flows from the nature of the Church, and is derived from its idea, or more shortly, the theory of the continued self-realization of the Church for the perfecting and manifestation of the kingdom of God in the world," and has, as such, a right to a place in the system of theological science. Only after a systematic exposition of the essential vital functions of the Church, as "a theory of its essence and nature," has been given, can a practical theology as a technology be developed alongside of it. Practical theology, therefore, maintains its systematic unity, by deducing the vital Church functions from the nature of the Church itself. After these fundamental definitions have been laid down in the Introduction (S. 1–10), the principles are discussed (S. 11 ff.), and the idea of the Church and the kingdom of God are treated of as the fundamental conceptions for the self-development of the Church. The Church in its general notion is the communion of believers. As such, as Christendom, it is the subject discussed. Against the world it directs the mission, and gives itself a constitution. In reference to its own inner life, it is worship, including catechizing and care of souls. Church office is not given positively, but is developed from the life of the community. Now, inasmuch as practical theology finds its principle of unity in the notion of the Church, it cannot be confessional, that is, "the theory of Church practice for a particular confessional Church cannot, any more than dogmatics, be described as Lutheran rather than Christian, unless it is to exchange its speculative character for the historical." Inasmuch as it rests on the absolutely valid notion of the Church corresponding to the reality of scriptural Christianity, it should rather "found thereupon, and set forth the operation of the Church on the world as universally and simply normal" (S. 31 f.).

After the historical influence of the Church has been discussed in chaps. 2 and 3, the essential vital functions of the Church are dealt with in the order of the branches of practical theology, in chap. 4, in order, on the basis of the idea of the Church and the historical development of the Church, to reach "the doctrine of the correct self-development of the Church in all times" (S. 125 ff.). Worship, as congregational worship, forms the centre; and from this centre in the direction of the worldly life are described the essential functions of missions and the formation of the constitution. Genetically a beginning is made, neither with the constitution, nor with worship, but with missionary activity for the reception of those belonging to no Church into the fellowship of the congregational worship. Between missions and worship, however, an educating function enters as a middle term, which has for its object the training of those who are to become Church members. Worship forms the climax: the term Liturgics is no longer to be employed in its traditional sense, but is to be restricted to congregational worship. On the other hand, from the same centre of worship in relation to the world the activity that forms the constitution is described. Between these two, however, there enters as a middle term an educating function, that of the care of souls, for keeping the congregation in order, for discipline, and practical love. In the last place comes the constitution, not as a mere statutory form of the Church life, nor as a mere legislative form impressed from without, but as proof of the Spirit's dominion in the determining of its relations to the world. It is especially noteworthy in this system, that von Zezschwitz conceives of practical theology as the theory of the essential activity of the Church, not as a technology of Church procedure, and that, like Gaupp, notwithstanding his own confessional Lutheran standpoint, he renounces its limitation to a confession, and insists upon its significance for the universal Church. As practical theology cannot be regarded as a part of theological science, when conceived of as a guide to the

pastoral office, or as a technology, no more can it be so reckoned when conceived of as the theory of the theological practice of a confessional Church. When, on the other hand, Harnack says that practical theology can accomplish its task only from the standpoint of a particular Church and on behalf of a particular Church, since no practical theology can be thought of which would at once serve and satisfy Romanism and Protestantism, he is certainly correct; but the purpose of satisfying one, or another, or even several Churches is not that which is assigned to practical theology, for then it would be confined to the sphere of particularism and its conclusions would be robbed of universal validity. Harnack rightly characterizes practical theology as a historical-ideal science; but should it as such only criticize, rectify, and apply the standard to the practice of one or another confessional Church, or is its task not rather one of universal criticism? Only if it assumes this task, can it maintain its place in the theological system, and also be in a position to render the one scientific treatment of the subject, what Harnack regards as impossible, serviceable as corrective and norm both for Romanism and Protestantism. This is the most important advance which, since the time of Schleiermacher, has been made in the scientific treatment of practical theology.

Except in thus giving a general reference to practical theology, Zezschwitz agrees with many of his predecessors in his notion of it as the theory of essential Church activities. Since Schleiermacher, it has been quite common to say that practical theology has for its subject the Church practice, and is consequently to be defined as the theory of the Church action or of vital Church activities. In this definition the view, prevalent before Schleiermacher, and continued even in that of Schleiermacher itself, appears. It does not perfectly correspond to the reality. Christianity is historically represented as Church life. The Church is, therefore, an organization with internal and external conditions and manifestations

of life. Its principle of life, the internal condition of life, is faith and the common Christian spirit springing therefrom. From it the Church develops its outward form. Particular organs and functions are the external conditions of life of the Church organization. Hence, practical theology has not only the Church practice as Church action, but the whole outward Church organization for its subject, and is, according to its idea, the theory of the organs and functions of the Church life. Empirically it meets with this organization in the most varied forms, determined by special historical relations. As exegetical theology sets forth Christianity in its origin, historical theology in its ecclesiastical development, and systematic theology in its idea, it is the task of practical theology to set forth Christianity in its ideal-churchly realization. It has to borrow the idea of the Church from exegetical and systematic theology. According to these the Church is the fellowship of believers, founded on God's sending of Christ, and maintained by His word and sacraments, for the realization of the kingdom of God on the earth. Under the guidance of this idea, and with reference to the Church formations brought before it by historical theology, practical theology has scientifically to determine the Church organization, which for the Church as an institution of salvation has a relative significance, and as the organ of the kingdom of God an absolute significance, in a form universally valid, freed from the fortuitousness of empiricism, in which the Church has to realize in life its real and ideal aims. Hence practical theology according to its idea is ecclesiastics or the theory of the Church; as such it is a constituent part of theological science, and has the name practical theology inasmuch as it is the doctrine of the Church organization in the realization of its ideal life. In this way, too, the unsatisfactory connection in which practical theology has been usually placed in regard to the other parts of theology is avoided. If, in a one-sided manner, theoretical theology in respect of the first

three divisions is conceived of as knowledge for the sake of knowledge, it only remains to distinguish practical theology from it as knowledge for the sake of practice (Marheineke, Pelt). If, on the other hand, in an equally one-sided manner, the whole of theology is regarded from the practical point of view, practical theology is also consequently knowledge for the sake of practice. In both cases, practical theology is valuable only to the practical theologian, but is not proved to be a necessary constituent part of theological science. Only if theology is conceived of, on the one hand, purely as science, and, on the other hand, in regard to all its parts, as of practical significance for the Church, practical theology is seen to be also a part of theology, pursuing knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but also, like the three previous parts of theology, affording its practical service to the Church. Though Harnack (*l.c.* S. 48) brings the charge of systematizing against this treatment of practical theology by which the distinction between theoretical and practical theology is obliterated, it claims recognition as, in a proper way, securing for practical theology a place in the theological system. As Zezschwitz has already pointed out, this in no way affects practical theology as a technology. This has only practical theology as ecclesiastics for its presupposition, but must itself be excluded from the system of theological science. The other charge of idealism which Harnack (S. 54) brings against our conception may be turned into a recommendation. The theories which ecclesiastics deduces from the idea of the Church are ideal but not unpractical; according as the existing Churches approach empirically the idea of the Church, they will be found to realize those theories. This is least to be expected from the Romish Church, but the evangelical Church is pre-eminently fitted for this, inasmuch as the Reformation brought again the idea of the Church into prominence, and the evangelical Church rests on Reformation foundations.

The distribution of practical theology occasions the greatest difficulty. Almost every theorist proposes his own peculiar distribution, and criticizes the divisions of his predecessors. Since practical theology ceased to be a mere guide for the official conduct of the clergy, which possibly made a division easier, it has been customary to derive its division from the guidance of the Church, or from the constructive idea of edification, or from the nature of the Church. As concerns the latter, from what has been already said, it must appear a doubtful expedient to take an abstract idea as the principle of division for a great department of life with its manifold formations and vital manifestations; and it is actually found that divisions attempted in this way suffer from undeniable defects. They do not embrace the whole range, or they are at fault in respect of the order in which the several branches are introduced. Both objections may be brought against the distribution given by Zezschwitz. There is no prominence given in it to the ethical character of the Church life as a whole, and to theological teaching in its practical significance for the Church. In regard to the order of the several theological branches, Zezschwitz demands a genetic procedure; nevertheless, indispensable as this is for a historical branch, it is unsuitable for practical theology. Zezschwitz makes the Church coming into being change places with the Church actually existing: not the former, but the latter, is the subject of practical theology. His position, therefore, seems without foundation, when he assigns the first place to missionary activity, since this can be carried on with present and prospective success only by an organized Church, and the last place to the Church constitution, to which, in justification of this arrangement, a significance is given which as constitution it has not in fact, nor can have in itself. An objective distribution corresponding accurately to the task of practical theology can be obtained only by adopting, instead of the abstract, a concrete notion of the Church as it is set forth in

Church history. Church history is the realized idea of the Church, and since the Church life in its essential expressions is continuous, so also must the ideal Church life, which practical theology lays down as the postulate of the future, run its course in the same expressions of life. The distribution of practical theology is, therefore, to be borrowed from Church history. Now the general activities in which the life of the Church as a whole historically expresses itself are those of extension, collection, edification, determining of habits, and education. From this objective basis practical theology has to arrange its widespread materials. The first, the expanding or missionary activity, so far as practical theology is concerned, which has already before it an existing Church institution, falls under the habit-determining activity. Thus, for systematic arrangement, we have only four different functions to take into account. Inasmuch as all these activities proceed historically from the nature of the Church, the distribution of practical theology founded upon these has the idea of the Church itself for its basis. The systematic distribution of practical theology is, therefore, in accordance with those principles as follows. An introduction has to lay down the idea of practical theology, its connection with the other parts of theology and its general task; and then to incorporate into itself the fundamental and historical postulates which are given, on the one hand, in exegetical and systematic theology, and, on the other hand, in historical theology. It is unsystematic to treat of the fundamental and historical material which is contained in the previous parts of theology with such fulness as to make of it a first part of practical theology (Marheineke, Nitzsch, Zezschwitz, Harnack). After the groundwork has been laid in the introduction, ecclesiastics has to treat its own subject, the ideal Church organism, under four sections: (1) The Theory of Organization; (2) The Theory of Worship; (3) The Theory of Culture; and (4) Ecclesiastical Didactics.

§ 45. THE THEORY OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

1. *Church Polity.* 2. *Church Law.*

The fellowship of believers, in its divine founding, in its religious-historical origin, and its universal destination, possesses the right of autonomy, that is, the right to organize itself independently as an ecclesiastical community. All those who confess Christ as Revealer, Redeemer, and Saviour, are by means of this confession bound together into a spiritual fellowship and for the highest purposes of a religious-moral life. From faith in Christ, their common principle of life, there arises the necessity for outward union in an association. If the inner connection is to be maintained, and the common aim of life, the realization of the kingdom of God, to be reached, an outward bond must be constituted. In short, individuals must form themselves into communities, and separate communities into one grand community. This takes place by means of a fixed constitution and government proceeding from the life of the Church, through the organs of which, every individual and each separate congregation are made to feel themselves members of one great ecclesiastical whole. The Church constitution is the body, by means of which the Spirit of God which inspires the community attains unto full practical activity. But, at the same time, along with its constitution, the community both inwardly and outwardly has constructed a special system of Church law. Hence the theory of Church organization is divided into (1) Church polity, which has to treat of the organs of the Church constitution and government, and (2) the science of Church law, which has to treat of ecclesiastical

jurisprudence. From historical theology both have to borrow constitutional history, as their auxiliary science.

1. CHURCH POLITY.—The hierarchical-monarchical constitution of the Roman Catholic Church must be overthrown by the idea of the Church. It rests upon the qualitative distinction of clergy and laity, which is irreconcilable with the essential nature of the Christian Church. Likewise the political-monarchical constitution, under which for the most part the Protestant Churches, especially the Lutheran Church, are placed, is overthrown. According to this constitution, the territorial prince is chief bishop of his Protestant territorial Church, and exercises the ecclesiastical power belonging to him by a ministerial department, and subordinate to this, are consistories and superintendencies which, as respects their official authority, are not ecclesiastical, but civil courts. This constitution rests upon the complete subordination of the Church to the State, which is irreconcilable with the autonomy of the Church. Under both of these forms of constitution, the Roman Catholic and this Protestant one, the congregations are dependent upon their courts and deprived of their rights, and the Church is prevented from freely developing its inner life in all directions. The constitution by which the fellowship of believers organizes itself into a community must be a representation of the community. The individual congregation, as part of the whole community, forms the foundation: in its constitution it is bound to its own faith and the faith of the whole community; it cannot arbitrarily give itself its constitution. The preaching of the word of God to believers, and therefore to each congregation, rests on divine appointment, and the guiding of the congregation results from the nature of every society, for the Christian society especially on account of its ideal aim. Originally individuals gained prominence in the congregation, who, according to their endowments, preached the gospel and directed the affairs of the congregation. These two functions

being indispensable for the maintenance of the Christian commonwealth, it soon appeared undesirable to leave them to the chance of personal endowment, and thus was constituted a regular office. The pastoral office forms the centre of the Christian congregational life. The single congregation is, therefore, obliged, as well entitled, to call its own pastor to foster its Christian life. The pastor is the representative of the whole Church in the particular congregation, and has to serve in it, according to the proportions and Christian culture of his congregation, the general purposes of the Church. The pastor must be educated for this service by theological science. He is not qualitatively distinguished from the congregational members, the so-called laity, but only by his theological education and the office which, on the ground of this, has been conferred upon him. But the congregation also, regarded historically as an ecclesiastical-moral person, whose members are acknowledged as Christians, is entitled to have its congregational consciousness represented alongside of the pastor. This is carried out by a council of elders (Presbyterian Session) chosen from the congregation. The pastor and the session represent the unity of the single congregation, the parish, *παροικία*. The individual congregations find their unity in the Synods elected by them, which are the organ by means of which the Church extends the consciousness of its associational unity over the widest range, so that a larger group of congregations, a diocese, *διοίκησις*, finds its unity in the Diocesan Synod, several dioceses, in the Provincial Synod, several provincial churches in the Territorial Synod, several territorial churches in the General Synod. The Church is not confined to a particular State. By reason of its universal character, it transcends the limits of the State in its organization. Subject to the authority of higher courts, the Synods have legislative power over the whole extent of the churches by which they are elected, in reference to all the internal affairs of the Church. But, besides the legislative function,

there must also be an executive function, a church administration and government: the decrees of Synod possessed of legal sanction must be carried out. For this end, special organs of ecclesiastical administration are indispensable. The legislative Synod has to appoint a permanent supreme Church Council, which carries out the synodal decrees, and according to these has to administer the regular government of the whole Church, over which it presides. For the larger Church groups, its administrative organs are the consistories with a Provincial Church Council, and, subordinate to these, superintendents with a Diocesan Church Council. For single congregations, the pastor and the session (*presbyterium*) form the administrative court.

By means of the Reformation, which gave prominence again to the congregational principle in opposition to the Roman Catholic suppression of it, the Protestant Churches were called upon to carry out this organization for themselves. Promising beginnings have already been made in particular national Churches, and these must be carried on so as to secure the overthrow of opposing obstacles. The most pressing inducement to this lies in the present condition of the Church. While it is undeniable that in many places a pious Church feeling has been maintained, the sense of a common interest among the Churches has been more and more dwindling away under the statutory despotism that has crushed and broken them up. One little national Church, or the Church of a canton, does not concern itself about another; one congregation has nothing to do with a neighbouring congregation. The result is that the Churches have come to regard their Church constitution as a regulation enjoined upon them for State purposes, to which they must yield if they are to avoid conflict with the law. In opposition to such ecclesiastical pauperization, the organization of the Churches ought to quicken the consciousness of Protestant confraternity and revive in the congregations the feeling that their Church

constitution is in the fullest sense their own affair, and that for the advancement of their congregational life their most active participation in Church matters is required. Of the practicability of a Church constitution on a great scale a guarantee is given, at least for the German Protestant Churches, by the founding of the German Empire with a Protestant emperor for its head, which puts down, as its ecclesiastico-political aim, the founding of a German Protestant National Church. A beginning in this direction has already been made by the Church Conference of the German Church authorities. But the possibility of an organic combination of the German National Church with Protestant Churches outside of Germany has been proved by the Gustavus-Adolphus Union, the Missionary Associations, the Protestant Union, the Evangelical Alliance. The constitution of the Moravian Brethren is worthy of being imitated, as is also the Roman Catholic Church organization itself, which was originally called forth under the influence of the Christian idea, and was inwardly corrupted only by the admixture, under peculiar historical conditions, of unchristian elements.

2. THE SCIENCE OF CHURCH LAW.—The Church, as a community with a constitution, constructs a legal code, which is recognised by its own members, and is to be enforced also outside of its own limits. Within the Church, the rights and duties of members toward their authorities, of the authorities toward the members, and the legal relations of members of court toward one another, and outside of this, the rights of the Church over against other Church communions and the State, mark the boundaries within which it is applicable. The Church makes its appearance as a legislator with a definite jurisdiction. Church law is its scientific exposition. The main point here is the ultimate principle upon which the theory is to be based. From the congregational principle, according to which the Church produces its own constitution,

the principle of law results, that Church power is in the Church, and proceeds from it alone. In this way Christian Church law is distinguished from the Roman Catholic, the fundamental principle of which is, that Church power is in the hierarchy, and likewise, from Protestant Church law, which, with very slight reservation of the rights of the Church, ascribes Church power to the territorial prince. Protestant ecclesiastical jurisprudence has attempted under various systems to prove that the power over the Protestant Churches granted to territorial princes is a right belonging to them.[1] The so-called *Episcopal System* (Reinkingk, Carpzov) sought to reach this by demonstrating that by the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), the diocesan jurisdiction of the bishops adhering to the Augsburg Confession, which was provisionally suspended till an amicable arrangement could be made, devolved upon the territorial princes. Another system, the so-called *Territorial System* (Thomasius), started from the principle: *cujus regio, ejus religio;* the territory belonged to the territorial prince, therefore he also has supreme authority over the Protestant churches in his territory. A third system, the so-called *Collegial System* (Pfaff), acknowledges at least the independence of the Church; according to it, the members of the Church, that is, of the community formed on the basis of equal rights (*collegium æquale*), are in principle possessors of Church power, but, at the time of the Reformation, they had transferred their rights to the princes. That the first and third systems are without any historical basis, and that the second proves too much to be of any avail, and that the consequences of those systems have been injurious to the interests of the Church, is now pretty generally admitted. What the theory aimed at, has not been reached. Historically considered, the princely exercise of Church power was a service rendered by the territorial princes to the Church in its time

[1] Compare Aem. L. Richter, Lehrbuch des Katholischen und evangelischen Kirchenrechtes. 7 Aufl. S. 143 ff.

of need, which should be always thankfully acknowledged by Protestantism; scientifically considered, it is the continuance as a right of what is a wrong toward the Church. Against this doctrine of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, Christian Church law has to insist upon the natural right of the Church, and to determine, in accordance therewith, both the intra-ecclesiastical legal relations, and those that have reference to other religious communities and the State. The hardest problem, even after the principles have been established, is to fix the legal relations of Church and State in respect of the individual. Protestant Churches, which hold by the principle of the Reformation, have to take their stand on the ground of the natural right of the Church, and in accordance therewith to unite with the State. The Reformation has shown how this can be done, inasmuch as it acknowledged Church and State to be ordinances of God, and rejected both the Roman Catholic idea of a Church-State and the Byzantine idea of a State-Church. In both of these conceptions of the Church, alongside of what was false, there was also contained an element of truth, inasmuch as the hierarchical theory vindicated the right of the Church, while the Byzantine-Protestant theory insisted upon the association of the Church with the State. If, according to the Reformation theory, both Church and State are divine ordinances, both answer the one God-ordained end of contributing their united influence to the realization of the kingdom of God. The modern theory of a free Church in a free State (Cavour) is a baseless abstraction; the notion of the complete absorption of the Church in the State (Hegel, Rothe), while giving careful attention to its practical tasks, overlooks the autonomous and universal character of the Church. According to the Christian and Reformation principle, the true relation between Church and State will be an outward legally sanctioned distinction, and an inward vital connection. The State has to advance not only the material well-being, but also the full development of the spiritual life of its citizens,

and the ideal ends of humanity. Toward all religious denominations, therefore, within its bounds, the State is to assume a positive attitude, and to extend toleration to all, where no tendencies hostile to the State are manifested. That parity which is demanded of the State in regard to all religious denominations that may be present within its bounds, is unrealizable. The State estimates these proportionally; according to the historical significance which a religious denomination has for it, and according to the number of its members, the State will grant it privileges before the rest. The Roman Catholic Church system of the present is irreconcilable with the condition even of the Catholic State, and still more so with that of the Protestant State. It is no longer allowed to bishops and members of the Catholic Church to regard the Papal Infallibility as a mere pretension; as a dogma, it has been made a matter of faith and of unconditional obedience. Should a State drive the Jesuits forth from its borders and admit the Infallibility dogma, it therewith adopts Jesuitism, and converts itself into a power hostile to the State, all the more dangerous because it has its basis in the superstition of the great mass of the Catholic people. This hostile power may, indeed, be modified by the continued influence of education; but it can be broken down only by means of great revolutions proceeding from the religious domain itself, which very rarely occur. The rights of the Church and religion which, according to the Jesuits' demand, the State should recognise, are the rights of the infallible papal Church and papal Christianity; the truth and rights and freedom, whose representative Jesuitism claims to be, are the truth, rights and freedom of the infallible Papacy. Against the ecclesiastical and civil polity of the Jesuits mere legislative counteraction is not sufficient.

The freely organized Protestant Church strives after the most vital connection with the State. Its organization would be hanging in the air, unless it assumed to itself the interests

of civil life, and put itself in sympathy with all the spiritual aspirations of the national life. Should constitutional distinctness and inner connection be admitted, then in this position it is already granted, that the distinction cannot be an absolute one, and that the connection must be in some way organically restored. Hence the Protestant Church, which pursues only religio-ethical aims, the realization of which the State also in its own interests must make its task, not only unconditionally subjects itself to the civil law, and recognises the ecclesiastical supremacy belonging according to its nature to the State, the *jus majestaticum circa sacra*, but also seeks to enter into a regular constitutional relation to the State. To the civil superior, in case he belongs to the Protestant Church, special privileges are accorded as *membrum præcipuum*, and chief patron of his church, and the Church courts, from the highest down to the congregational Church organs, are required to associate themselves with the civil courts down to the courts of the commune, in carrying out all the various interests in the furtherance of which State and Church are mutually concerned (Marriage, Public Schools, High Schools, Universities, Morals, Social Questions). This interpenetrating of the Church into the domain of the national life had already a precedent in the pre-Christian religious communities; these were national religions, because the religious community and the national community coincided. Circumstances, such as presently exist in France, where a wide gulf has opened up between the civil government and the national Church dominated by a Jesuitical-clerical spirit, must damage the State as well as the Church.

If the German National Church enters into the relation described with the State, it will come to be a real national Church. In spite of the peculiarities of provincial and territorial churches, which find expression in it, and are not to be repressed by the Church courts in the interests of a general uniformity, it will find its national unity in inner Christian

piety and in active co-operation for the ideal-ethical ends of Christianity.

On the Church Constitution the works of Petersen, Klee, Rothe, and Zeller, deserve to be mentioned. On Church Law, the most important works are those of Eichhorn, Stahl, Puchta, Richter, Hinschius, and Thudichum. Copious lists of the literature of these subjects are given in Pelt's Encyclopädie, S. 619 ff., and in Hagenbach's Encyclopädie, S. 469 ff.

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§ 46. THE THEORY OF WORSHIP.

1. *Liturgics.* 2. *Homiletics.* 3. *Catechetics.* 4. *Pastoral Science.*

As the Confession is the postulate of the Church organization, the Confession and the Organization are the postulates of the worship of the Church. In the more general sense of the word, worship is the continuous action of the whole Church for the edification of itself in faith, and has, for its regular administration, the pastoral office. Christian worship, too, according to the nature of religion has issued forth from the faith of the Church, and has unfolded itself under diverse historical influences in a rich variety of forms. The theory of worship has generally to determine scientifically the Christian forms of worship, and has to borrow from historical theology, as its auxiliary science, the history of worship or ecclesiastical archæology.

The Church, as a congregation of congregations, must have a common form of worship. In reality this consists in a form of worship for particular congregations, and the pastors called by them are commissioned by the whole Church to administer in them the pastoral office. For the preservation of the communion, forms of worship have to be resolved upon by the superior courts of the Church. The congregations and pastors are bound by these, but are not thus bereft of freedom, since they are fixed by courts which have been elected by themselves. The pastor exercises all his official functions under the commission he has from the Church. Called to foster and maintain the life of faith in his congregation in the spirit of the whole Church, he must, through the study of theology, be familiar with the historical development of the

Christian life, and be firmly established in his own life of faith, so as to be able from personal conviction to perform all his official obligations. His duty is, by means of his theological culture to contend against all forms of superstition, heresy, error and unbelief, and to preserve his congregation in the living faith in Christ, without communicating to it his philosophical ideas and his theological learning.

The acts of worship, in which the congregation engages along with the pastor, have reference—(1) to the congregation in its totality, as the fostering by means of divine service the faith of the congregation,—worship in the strict sense of the term; (2) to the young of the congregation as laying the foundations of the faith; and (3) to individuals in the congregation as the guarding of the faith of the congregation. The function of worship is, therefore, a liturgical one, which reaches its highest point in the preaching of the word of God by the pastors before the assembled congregation, a catechetical function, and one directed to the care of souls. Thus the theory of worship is divided into Liturgics and Homiletics, Catechetics, and the Theory of the Care of Souls, or Pastoral Science in the strict sense.

1. LITURGICS.—Liturgics is the theory of Christian public worship. Its task is, with reference to the idea of Christianity and to history (ancient and modern liturgies), to determine the nature of Christian public worship and the fundamental forms in which it has been expressed. It has its name from *λειτουργία*. Among the Greeks the word meant generally a public office, but in the Greek Church it was transferred to the administration of public acts of divine service. According to the modern use of the term, it is employed in the stricter sense to the part of the divine service performed at the altar; in the wider sense it is used for the whole department of liturgics. The restriction of the term by Zezschwitz to the congregational act of communion is without any real foundation.

The basis on which Christian public worship rests is the revelation of God in Christ. The divine human person of the Founder is the middle point around which the festivals of the Christian community, in constant remembrance of its ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πίστεως, are grouped; Sunday as the day of the Lord's resurrection, the Christmas festival as the celebration of His birth, the Easter festival as the celebration of His death and resurrection in their religious significance according to Rom. vi. 3–11, and the festival of Pentecost as the celebration of the communication of His Spirit to the Church. The Christian congregation meets on the public festivals for edification in the faith. The assembled congregation is, in the celebration of public worship, the acting person, making declaration of its faith in fellowship with the pastor, and thereby quickening and confirming it anew. Determined in respect of its contents by a regard to the festival season, the celebration consists in singing, prayer, and preaching of the word of God, by means of which divine grace is commended to the congregation by the pastor, and the congregation is commended to it, and the service concludes with the bestowing of the blessing. The dispensation of the sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, even if dissociated from the public celebration, is still an act of congregational worship, performed by the pastor as organ of the congregation. But there is an element partly sacramental, partly sacrificial, proper to all acts of worship. To the performance and adequate rendering of the common festival celebrations the arts of architecture, music, and painting contribute, which, inasmuch as they simply assist the worship, are not an independent element thereof, but must be controlled by the spirit prevailing in the Church.

The most important writings of recent times which treat specially of liturgics, are those of Gass, Höfling, Ehrenfeuchter, Klöpper, Ebrard, Kliefoth, Bähr, and Schöberlein. The treatises on practical theology generally mentioned under

§ 44 ought specially to be consulted. On particular parts of liturgics, see the literature in Hagenbach, S. 414 ff. Engl. transl. p. 517.

2. HOMILETICS.—Homiletics is the theory of preaching, and stands in the closest connection with liturgics, inasmuch as preaching forms the principal part of Christian public worship. It has its name from ὁμιλία; in the ancient Church, the Christian address to the congregation; according to modern usage, a particular form of preaching. Preaching is the proclamation of the word of God before the congregation assembled for public worship by the pastor, who is officially commissioned for this duty. It is, therefore, the duty of the pastor always to base his discourse on a section of Holy Scripture, the so-called text. His exposition of it must be scientifically exegetical, but the end is practical application. The preacher should not bring before his congregation theology and dogmatic subtilties, but should seek on the basis of his text to build it up in the faith. Possessing scientific knowledge of the religious, and especially the Christian religious life, he should, as one skilled in religion, seek to give a religious tone to the spirit of the congregation by an exposition of the Christian truth in the living word, to make Christ, by means of his preaching, a living power in the heart of every individual, and thus the element of life in his congregation. The pastor has to regard the assembled congregation as already a believing company, which is, however, beset by the manifold influences of the natural life of this present world. He must guard against bringing forward in his preaching his own doubts in regard to Christian truth. His preaching must always be so positively religious, that it may nip in the bud any doubts that may be rising in the congregation. The frequent complaints of small success attending preaching would be silenced, if the sermons delivered were not one-sidedly dogmatic, or moralizing, but truly Christian-religious. The chief thing,

therefore, is that the pastor himself be thoroughly penetrated by the Christian truth, and that he speak to his congregation from his own hearty convictions. All rules of art, which homiletics lays down regarding preaching, presuppose this. However rigidly a preacher may observe the rules of a homiletical theory, if he has not Christ in his own spirit and heart, he will never, by the most artistic preaching, exercise any real influence. In the very interests of edification and to give effect to his preaching, the pastor must seek in accordance with the character and culture of his congregation the widest intellectual horizon. Set down in the midst of the practical life, and inspired by national and patriotic feeling, he will also be interested in, and will bring within the scope of his preaching, general ecclesiastical, social, and political questions, and, without introducing any ecclesiastical or political polemics, will have to deal with them from a purely religious standpoint, in order to determine the Christian-ethical attitude of his people in regard to such matters.

The more recent works on homiletics are those of Schott, Marheineke, Theremin, Palmer, Schweizer, and Baur, [Vinet, Shedd, The Yale Lectures on Preaching].

3. CATECHETICS.—There is continuous succession secured to the Christian community in the children of Christian parents. By means of baptism conferred upon the children, the Church asserts its claim over them, and thereby undertakes the duty of giving Christian training to baptized children, who have been received into the Church by means of the baptismal vows taken in their name by sponsors, until they shall be able to renew these vows on their own behalf in the act of Confirmation, and be qualified for being received as full members of the Christian congregation. Catechetics is the theory of the Christian training of the Christian youth up to their Confirmation. It has its name from *κατηχεῖν*,

meaning, according to Scripture usage, to instruct, to teach (Acts xviii. 25; Rom. ii. 18; 1 Cor. xiv. 19). It is usually the Christian youth, whom the catechist has to deal with; but, under special circumstances, his activity may be directed to proselytes, converts, and such adult persons as have not enjoyed the privilege of religious instruction in their youth. In reference to these no theory can be laid down, for here the instruction is altogether dependent on the degree of previous culture on the part of those who are grown up. Catechetics attends only to the Christian training of the baptized youth. The duty of this training, since it aims at incorporation with the Church, rests upon the congregation and the pastor. In the catechetical activity, too, both have to co-operate. Besides seeing to it that the children grow up surrounded by a Christian atmosphere, it is incumbent upon the parents that they awaken the religious sense of their children by home instruction and by attendance on the public services of the sanctuary, while the congregation, by arranging services for the young, by oversight of the public behaviour of the young, by children's festivals, etc., has to exercise over them a religious and moral influence. But catechetical instruction itself belongs to the pastor, and must begin with the very dawn of intelligence in the child. It, therefore, already begins in the public school, and is divided into the training of school children, and the training of candidates for Confirmation, the catechumens strictly so called. The former may be given by the pastor together with the schoolmaster, or even by the schoolmaster alone. The pastor only can give the preparation for Confirmation. The diversity in age determines the diversity in the instruction. In the school it is imparted in a freer, in the Confirmation-class in a more systematic form. School and Church, therefore, stand in close connection with one another. The public school is the affair of the State, and it is subject to its control and oversight; but the State and the Church have a common interest

in the intellectual and religious education of the youth attending school. Restricted as the ordinary public school course of instruction necessarily is to purely intellectual culture, religion ought to be regarded as a most essential means of culture in the public school. Religious instruction directs its attention to the child's spiritual life as a whole, and gives him for his whole life the character-basis, by means of which the lowest in intellectual culture is on an equality with the most highly cultured. The antipathy to religious instruction among schoolmasters called forth by ecclesiastical orthodoxy is already in Germany giving place to a better understanding. To take religious instruction out of the public school means in fact nothing less than to deprive it of its most characteristic element of life, and to withdraw the most solid basis of the life of the nation. Religious instruction must be obligatory in the public school, and, what is a consequence thereof, must be confessional, unless this be forbidden by the pronounced ecclesiastical views of the parents. The good intention of those, who on principle demand simultaneous schools for the sake of civil harmony, is to be acknowledged, but it is not attainable. The parity of the public school is not in keeping with their task. Simultaneous schools are a two-edged sword, and are allowable only under special local circumstances, and on an understanding between the civil commune and the local Church.

Catechetics has pre-eminently to lay down the principles of the catechetic activity. The principal law, which it gives to the catechist, amounts to this, that he has not only to instruct but also to render the heart of the youth susceptible to Christianity. He should not put in place of this the instruments of instruction, biblical history, catechism and hymn-book, and should not merely load the memory of the children with historical and doctrinal matter, but should endeavour by those means of instruction to attract the children to Christ, and by the love to Christ awakened in them to

make them grow up into truly religious men. From this it follows, that the catechist has to go back to the germs of religious life present in the child's heart, and to secure its religious-Christian development. There are two erroneous conceptions of the nature of religion, which the catechist in the discharge of his official duties must avoid. He can neither get everything out of the child by questions, nor put everything into him by preaching. In every child a spark of religious life is slumbering, and to fan this into a flame warming the whole spiritual being of the child by the positive religion revealed in Christ, is the task of the catechist. The *erotematic* method of catechetical instruction, the so-called Socratic or Mäeutic, is, therefore, as one-sided as the *acroamatic* method. As pursued separately, the former rests on rationalism, the latter on supernaturalism. The catechist must receive and give, give and receive, and must, therefore, employ both those methods alternately in a suitable manner.

The most important recent works on catechetics are those of Dinter, Daub, Schwarz, Thierbach, Palmer, and Zezschwitz.

4. PASTORAL THEOLOGY. — Notwithstanding the activities proceeding from the congregation for its self-development, in consequence of which the pastor has to exercise the functions of liturgist, preacher, and catechist, there may be individuals in the congregation for whom the general Church influence is not sufficient, who withdraw from it, or even assume a hostile attitude, and, therefore, require special pastoral care. There may be some Church members who are disturbed by doubts or conscientious scruples, others who are indifferent to Church altogether, or, on the contrary, are inclined to separatism, others who put little value upon Church appointments and ordinances, absent themselves from public worship and observance of the sacraments, despise the ecclesiastical

solemnization of marriage, neglect the education of their children, others who have fallen into utter unbelief, who follow lives of sin, vice, and crime, and openly scoff and mock at all the Church interests of the congregation. This wide and dark department of experience is the subject of pastoral activity. The congregation cannot be indifferent toward it. Moved by Christian φιλαδελφία (Rom. xii. 10; Heb. xiii. 1), and in the interests of its own self-preservation, it will give attention to its spiritually destitute, and will seek to have those members who are out of sympathy with the congregational life, or are altogether estranged from it, restored to it. The care of souls is a congregational affair, and the theory of this is pastoral theology. The care of souls is the duty specially of the pastor because of his office; in the discharge of it is he most characteristically the pastor of his congregation, *pastor animarum*. The theory does not propose a special code of morals for the pastor, nor define the free social and friendly intercourse between him and the members of his congregation, nor his practical relation to his people, but only the official duties which are required of the pastor in reference to this given subject of the care of souls. The theory, applied to a very varied field of experience, is here at least sufficient. One's own experience and the experience of others is the best teacher for practical use. But especially in this difficult department of pastoral activity, which if exercised by the pastor alone, only too readily gives occasion to the charge of despotism, ambitious designs, underhand priestcraft and thirst for power, the pastor ought to call in the support and help of the elders of the congregation. Under certain circumstances, the lay element may be more effective here than the clerical. The care of souls exercised by the pastor in fellowship with his session (*presbyterium*) includes Church discipline. Church discipline is, likewise, an affair of the congregation, and must, according to the Christian principle, be limited to exhortation

and correction springing out of brotherly love addressed to members separated from the life of the congregation, and to the whole judgment, according to which the congregation as such confers or refuses its privileges. Legal proceedings for withdrawal of Church privileges, exclusion from the Lord's Supper, refusal of baptism, of ecclesiastical solemnization of marriage, of burial according to ecclesiastical rites, etc., would lead to the injury, rather than to the edification of the congregation. The success of pastoral care of souls always mainly depends on the moral authority, which the pastor, and the members of the eldership associated with him, possess in the congregation.

If in pastoral theology it has been required specially of the pastor, that he acquaint himself with agriculture, gardening, and culture of fruit trees, with political economy and even with medicine, so that a special *medicina pastoralis* has been laid down, this all results from too wide a conception of pastoral theology. With the care of souls none of those pursuits have anything to do.

Apart from the numerous writings of a purely practical character as records of experience, the theory of the care of souls is of all the branches of practical theology least adequately supplied with a literature. Besides the treatises on practical theology as a whole, only the article of A. Schweizer, "Wissenschaftliche Construction der Pastoraltheologie oder Theorie der Seelsorge," in the Stud. u. Krit. 1838, H. 1, S. 7–53, and the writings of Hoffmann, Palmer, and Vilmar are deserving of mention.

§ 47. THE SCIENCE OF CHURCH CULTURE.

1. *The Science of Church Missions.* 2. *Church Social Science.*

The Christian faith is not only a life in God, but at the same time, a course of activity in the Spirit of God. By its life of faith, by the common Christian feeling proceeding from it, by its organization, by its worship, the Church unceasingly carries on the spiritual and moral elevation of the races which are embraced in its communion. As the divinely favoured artist who introduces the conception of the divine into the worldly life, it realizes, by its mere existence, the highest religious-ethical end, the winning of all mankind to the life in God and the penetrating of it with the Spirit of God. But besides, there are certain definite activities demanded of the Church, by means of which it has to contribute to Christian culture. In consequence of the universal destination of Christianity, it is incumbent upon the Church to overstep its boundaries, and draw all non-Christian races into its holy fellowship. This call is addressed to it in the commission of its Founder (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), and it accomplishes it by means of that love which is present in faith. Thus the missionary activity appears as the duty of the Church. As the Church itself was called forth by missionary activity, it is also required to exercise this activity continually. The first branch of the science of Christian culture is the science of missions.

While the Church exercises love toward those without, it has to exercise it also inwardly in reference to the life of its own community. It is the Church's duty to deal with the bodily need and moral ruin, the misery and sufferings of its members, the misfortune which has been brought on by natural causes, whether blameworthy or blameless, and the

incalculable influence of sin, to counteract, and, according to its ability, to relieve by its charity all those diseased conditions, which if not removed ruin individuals, and awaken sympathy in the whole community (1 Cor. xii. 26). The second branch of the science of Christian culture is the social science of the Church. These ethical activities of the Church have for their presupposition the functions of worship. By means of both, the Church proves itself at once a means of grace and an organ of the kingdom of God. The more lively the faith, the greater will be the fervency of the love of the Church.

1. THE SCIENCE OF MISSIONS, OR APOSTOLICS.—The missionary activity is associated with the beginnings of the Church, and has been continued, though with interruptions, in its history ever since. A great practical activity spontaneously springing out of the life of the Church precedes the theory. Only in modern times, in consequence of a more profound appreciation of the idea of the Church, has the need of defining scientifically the missionary activity been acknowledged. Most writers on the theory of practical theology have, in accordance with the suggestion of Schleiermacher, received the theory of missions into its system as a separate branch. So A. Schweizer, Moll, Ebrard, von Zezschwitz, and Harnack. Hagenbach, too, in his Encyclopädie (S. 387; Engl. transl. p. 487), recognised its claims, without assigning it a separate place in the system. Among those just named, Zezschwitz, in his System of Practical Theology (S. 153 ff.), has sketched an admirable outline of a theory of missions. Instead of the name "Halieutics" (Schweizer), or "Keryktics" (Zezschwitz), or Evangelistics (Harnack), the name "Apostolics," with reference to the apostolic model and the mission of the Church, seems most suitable.

In the Protestant Church, down to the present day, missions have been under the management of independent associations, and have experienced the advantages and disadvantages of all

associational agencies. In return for great sacrifices, there has been often little or no result. For the vast field, to which missionary effort addresses itself, larger means and more regular and constant co-operation are needed, in order to carry out the contemplated undertakings. It is not required of separate congregations that they undertake the missionary enterprise, but that they contribute to it. The pastor should foster the missionary spirit in his people. Mission work is the Church's duty; hence, without excluding the co-operation of independent associations, the Church authorities must undertake the direction of missions, if these are to accomplish their intended purpose. Freedom is the basis from which missionary activity must proceed: liberty of action and special gifts make the missionary. The Church has to take into its service youths or men who devote themselves to the missionary calling. Supported by the contributions of the congregations, the Church authorities have to undertake the regular training of missionaries, and for this purpose, have to establish missionary institutions or seminaries. In these the science of missions is taught. Since the missionary has to deal, not with a regularly consolidated congregation, but with a newly formed Church community, to which he himself is to give more perfect shape, his training does not need to be a theological one; and since the introduction of confessional differences hinders the success of missions, the work should not be carried on in a confessional dogmatic spirit. The missionary must work as a Christian, in the spirit of the evangelical Church. The science of missions is constructed on those lines. Guided for the most part by experience, it has to borrow the history of missions from historical theology, and the reports issued by the various missionary societies, as auxiliary sciences. The theory of missions has to begin with the history of missions, and in it to give special prominence to the lives of distinguished missionaries. Great examples awaken an enthusiasm for

determined imitation. In the field of theological science, Bible study has to take the place of Exegetical theology, Evangelistics the place of Dogmatics and Ethics, the system of Mission Services the place of Liturgics, Keryktics the place of Homiletics. Catechetics and the care of souls are continued in the mission field. The theory of the constitution is to be replaced by the theory of the organization of newly formed congregations.

The sending of the missionary, as well as his training, devolves upon the Church authorities. Suitable localities for missionary operations have to be fixed upon in view of existing circumstances, and of political and commercial conjunctives, and then suitable missionaries have to be chosen for these. The Church authorities, too, will have to decide when any of the newly constituted communities have attained unto such maturity as entitles them to a place in the organic fellowship of the Church.

2. THE SOCIAL SCIENCE OF THE CHURCH.—The activity, which this branch has scientifically to define, proceeded from the free loving impulse of the primitive Christian community toward its poor, and by its free gifts gave practical proof of itself in so perfect a manner, that there was no poor one in the community (Acts iv. 32–35). But the growing need very soon rendered it necessary, in order to secure its regular exercise, to connect this free activity with a particular office. The ministry of the word was separated from the ministry of charity, and the latter service was committed to the diaconate (Acts vi. 1–6). In subsequent ages it was little attended to by the Church, but was left for the most part to private exercise of charity to the poor, or to the cloisters and special monkish orders for the care of the poor and sick. The Reformation, indeed, according to the biblical pattern, assigned the care of the poor to the congregations; but on the one hand, the one-sided conception of the Church, prevailing among the Reformers, as a spiritual institution was unfavour-

able to the practice of charity on the part of the Church, and on the other hand, it was checked and repressed by the State control over the Church, by means of which the congregations were reduced to a condition of pure passivity. Only in modern times has the importance of this exercise of charity been recognised in the domain of the Protestant Church by the so-called Inner Mission; this has been more extensively carried out by the aid of independent associations; while in regions outside of the Church, Socialism has applied itself, not only practically, but also theoretically, to most of the questions which belong to the charity-function of the Church. Owing to the little attention given to its practice, theology has given no special attention to this branch of the Church's activity. Encyclopædists and writers on the theory of practical theology mention casually indeed the Church diaconate, but have not hitherto attempted a theory of it. If it be strictly limited to the care of the poor and sick, it can scarcely be shown that it should form a distinct branch. But the idea of the Church and history lead to the conception of the charity of the Church as a practical activity, by which an essential aspect of Christianity, the ethical, is brought into being. The charity of the Church has the significance of an activity that belongs to the very nature of the Church and is essential to its culture, and is therefore to be treated by practical theology as a separate branch. Inasmuch as it proceeds from the Church, and has as its task the preserving and advancing by its operation the moral life of the Church as a whole, the theory of it may be designated the Church social science. Its basis is the history of Christian culture derived from historical theology. As the temporal and the spiritual are conditioned the one by the other, it has for its subject the temporal and moral needs from which the community suffers, by which it is threatened and endangered in its moral core, and it determines the practical procedure by means of which those needs are to be removed, or, at least, ameliorated. It has, therefore, to include

within its range everything that is embraced in the idea of the Inner Mission, and also social questions, in so far as they concern the Church, and in so far as the Church can contribute to their solution. On this practical field, charity and the care of souls have many points of contact. These two, however, are distinguished in that the latter has to aid by spiritual counsels the endangered life of faith, while the former has to aid the endangered moral life by advice and active help. Thus, too, are practical theology and social science distinguished from one another.

The tasks of Church charity can be performed only by a fully organized Church. The practical importance of the Church constitution here becomes evident. It gives free play and regularity of action to the vital ethical energies existing within the community. Church charity can be successfully exercised only when it is localized, and as far as possible individualized. The head of this activity is the particular congregation. With the best of intentions, the pastor can by himself effect little in this department. He must be associated with his congregational board in common and organized action. By pastor and office-bearers the charitable contributions of the congregation are to be distributed, and in this they have to seek the aid of women. Here it is true: *mulier agat in ecclesia.* Women by their tender-heartedness, their ever ready self-denial, their practical adroitness and circumspection, are best fitted for discharging the duties of the Christian diaconate. The organization must be directed to securing personal intercourse between the workers and those in need, and to arranging so that as small a group as possible may be put under the care of each distributor. Church charity, varied as its performances are, must ever keep this in view, that material gifts alone do not relieve distress, that rather personal loving and unwearied labour is required to awaken to new energy the disheartened, the despairing, and the morally unstrung. In reference to extra-ecclesiastical

social questions, the Church has to give its attention specially to the deeply-rooted hatred and envy of those without property against the possessors of property, and the hard-hearted selfishness and love of gain which the possessors of capital manifest in their dealings with their employees. The Church has to endeavour to uproot those false notions, by affording information and by continuous Christian exhortation, but specially by leavening the youth with better principles in the instructions of the school and Confirmation classes. The theory has to indicate in detail the needs, to which the charity of the Church has to pay attention, and the means with which they may be most judiciously met. But besides being the business of individual congregations, it is also an affair of the Church courts, not only to support the congregations in their charitable labours, but also for this end to seek desirable points of contact with the authorities of the commune and the State. It is specially incumbent on the supreme authorities of the Church, if the general interests of the Church call for it, to claim the help of the supreme civil authorities, and by public addresses to influence the congregations. But the principal thing is that all this Church charity, as well as the missionary activity, be carried on in a broad Christian spirit, without any ecclesiastical party ends and designs, and without any hypocrisy, with the heartiness and self-denial of a genuine evangelical faith. If throughout all the German Churches this loving spirit were exhibited, and were the pastors, by engaging in such duties, to show themselves men of the people, the German National Church would become truly national, and would secure its place in the hearts of the German people.

§ 48. ECCLESIASTICAL DIDACTICS.

1. *Symbolology.* 2. *Ecclesiastical Pædeutics.*

Like the missionary activity, the Christian function of teaching, which was associated with it (Matt. xxviii. 19), was originally left altogether free. While missionary effort spread out into ever increasing circles, the teaching function had also a rapid development, and constructed a scientific theological system. But while missions maintained their freedom, the function of teaching soon came to be tied down to a fixed doctrinal code, and was handed over to a regular teaching office. The Church borrowed from its theology certain doctrinal propositions, and formulated them in the Church confession or symbol, by means of which the faith of the Church as a whole, and the system of theology was determined. From its theologians it chose the administrators of the teaching function of the Church, who, as they were themselves bound to the Church confession, had also to teach it to their people. The Christian teaching function constituted itself an ecclesiastical teaching function by means of the symbol, and carried this out by the pastoral office. These two functions are to be scientifically determined by ecclesiastical didactics, and thus we have two branches, Symbolology and Ecclesiastical Pædeutics.

1. SYMBOLOLOGY, OR THE THEORY OF THE CHURCH FUNCTION OF TEACHING BY MEANS OF THE SYMBOL.—This branch, too, is new to the theological system. Liebner, however, in a review article[1] advanced a claim on its behalf; but his claim has been disregarded by encyclopædists and writers on the theory of practical theology. A reference, however, to history and

[1] Compare Theolog. Stud. u. Krit. 1844, S. 134 f.

to the life of the Church as a whole, shows it to be certainly entitled to this place. The confessional controversy is one in which the Church life is most profoundly interested: even in recent times it has pre-eminently engaged the attention of practical Churchmen. Theology has here a neglect to make good. Continued scientific treatment of the question would undoubtedly have contributed to clearing away many practical difficulties with which it was beset.

The history of doctrines and symbolics, borrowed from historical theology, are the auxiliary sciences of symbolology. In order to determine the teaching function of the Church by means of the symbol in accordance with the idea of the Church, symbolology has to take into consideration the origin, the form, the contents, and the historical consequences of the existing symbols. In respect of their origin, they have been called forth by the historical development of the Church; history teaches that the Church needed a confession. In respect of their form, however, the existing symbols, with the exception of the *apostolicum*, are unsuited for the use of the Church as a whole, in consequence of their great extent and their purely theological mode of thought and language. In respect of their contents, moreover, they are insufficient, inasmuch as they only define faith as dogma, while they leave undetermined the other essential aspect of the faith, the ethical. This applies even to the *apostolicum*, which embraces likewise purely historical elements, which are not suitable in a confession, the adoption of which in the symbol on historic grounds is incomprehensible to the Church of the present day. Finally, in respect of historical consequences, the symbols have proved the chief occasion of ecclesiastical divisions. All these defects of the present confessions result from the substitution on the part of the Church of a human doctrinal confession for a confession of saving truth. The Church as ideally conceived, as the communion which lives out its faith, was in no need of a confession; but so soon as it appeared in

history as an organized community, it had to give expression to its faith over against other religious communities, the State, and confessional Churches. In order to correct the actual defects of existing confessions, and to check the divisions in the Church caused by them, the Church must put its acknowledgment of divine salvation in place of the human doctrinal confession. In short, this confession must give expression to the essential basis of Church life in generally intelligible phrases. In distinction from the confessional doctrinal Churches, which make membership in them dependent on the confession of their dogmatic system, is the member of the Christian Church, who, baptized unto Christ, believes in God in the spirit of Christ, and promises to live in accordance with this faith. The confession, which every Christian has to make, is accordingly reduced to the single statement that, having been baptized, he believes in God in the spirit of Christ, and desires to live in accordance with this belief. Every one thereby makes confession of Christ, the Son of God in the religious-historical sense, who has revealed to men life in God, of Christ, the Redeemer, who has lived this life for them, of Christ, the Saviour, who raises all who follow Him into believing and living fellowship with God. Although the Church demands this confession of all its members, it does not thereby lay down for its whole doctrinal activity a dogmatically formulated system, but only a doctrinal norm to which its doctrinal activity is bound, and according to which it is to be estimated.

Of the Protestant national Churches, the United Evangelical Churches which, according to their Reformation basis and their historical origin, should be, not Churches of doctrine, but Churches of the Christian life, are called to appropriate that confession of saving truth and to make it their doctrinal norm. For the United Evangelical Church the confession controversy is a purely practical question. In the separate evangelical territorial Churches, various theological-ecclesiastical tendencies

exist alongside one another, of the representatives of which, some are confessional, either of a more or of a less strict type, others acknowledge only the *principles* of the confessions of the Reformation, and others repudiate every church confession. The last two may be won for the proposed confession of saving truth, and there is no reason in principle why the first named should refuse to enter into church communion with those others, provided that their doctrinal confession is preserved to the confessional communities. The various elements in the separate evangelical territorial churches should not prevent them uniting in a living fellowship, and forming by inner consolidation one organically constructed church. A constitutional connection could be secured between it and the other Protestant Churches of Germany, which have had the legal validity of their doctrinal confession guaranteed to them. In this way a German National Church might be constructed, the highest function of which will be the bringing of the Protestant Churches outside of Germany into organic connection with the German Church. Dogmatic confessionalism, with its exclusiveness, has been the chief obstacle in the way of a great Protestant Church Union, and the restoration of a German National Church. Far distant as the time for realizing this may be, practical theology at its ideal standpoint will not abandon the hope, that the spirit of Protestantism and the love of Fatherland will yet overcome all hindrances, and realize the ideal. During the transition stage, however, wisdom must be exercised in the use of existing forms of church government in order that conflicting elements in the separate territorial churches may be harmonized, and that all ecclesiastical schism may be guarded against. It will have to be considered, that even now in the separate evangelical state churches, the type of doctrine is not required, either by principle, or by existing law, to be estimated according to a dogmatic confession of faith. The erection and continuance of a German National Church are possible only if it be laid down as a fundamental

principle of church jurisprudence, that the teaching function is to be exercised and judged in accordance with the confession of saving truth as its doctrinal standard. The legalistic tendency of Judaism and Romanism, which is in contradiction to the inmost spirit of the evangelical church, and is, even within its bounds, fondly cherished, especially by jurists, would then no longer have place within the church. The supreme Church authorities would be relieved of the difficult task of guarding the purity of the church. This guarding function would be committed to theological science. Keeping pace with the general sciences, theology will guard the German Protestant Church from the conflicts and divisions, which have befallen the Catholic Church through the schism of the Eastern Church, through the Reformation, and in later times, through the German and Old Catholic movements, and which have befallen Protestantism through the split into Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and which have befallen the Lutheran Church also through continual divisions down to the present day. It will rather be the duty of the church authorities to see to it, that in all places the teaching is in accordance with the standard of the Christian confession of saving truth. The more energetically this confession is made in the discharge of the practical duties of life, the deeper and stronger will the love of their church be rooted in the hearts of the German people.

2. Ecclesiastical Pædeutics, or the Theory of the Teaching Function of the Church with reference to the Pastoral Office.—According to our symbolology, the pastoral office is bound by the church confession of saving truth. The ordination formula should give fit expression to this, and be regarded as a vow by him who is ordained. The solemn obligation laid upon the pastor in regard to the doctrinal confession, as used in the churches that cleave to dogma, is in itself a humiliation to the pastor. If the men who have the guiding of the church can administer their

office only in so far as they are theologically trained, pre-eminently the holders of the pastoral office who are entrusted by the Church with the function of teaching, must be equipped with the most complete theological acquirements. The Church has to place confidence in them, that, on the ground of their scientific training, with conscientious fidelity, they will expound the confession of the essentials of salvation, and unfold the wealth of Christian truth contained therein for the edification of their people. Besides the general service, which theology by its mere existence has performed for the Church, this is the most important, that it has qualified the ministers of the Church for their office. The Church must, therefore, take care that this service is rendered it in a systematic way. The free relationship which, according to §§ 14 and 21, exists between Church and theology, becomes a regular and formal relationship. The Church has need of special institutions, in which its pastors, by means of unremitting and regular application, receive a theological education. These are the ecclesiastical seminaries, and the theological faculties connected with the universities. The task of the former is to afford candidates of theology, who have already received a scientific training, an introduction to the practical work of the Church. The seminaries, therefore, have nothing to do with theoretical theology, but on the ground of this, they have to show the candidates, how to use the contents of Scripture for the edification of the Church, and how, for this purpose, and for the instruction of the congregation, Church history and the religious content of the dogmatic and ethical material treated of in systematic theology may be employed. The special function, however, of the seminaries is, by introducing the candidates to the theory of practical theology and its several branches, to make them acquainted with the practical tasks of the pastoral calling, and, by homiletical and catechetical exercises, to qualify them for their future official duties. In addition to this, apologetics, polemics, and irenics

are relegated to the seminaries. The apologetical, polemical, and irenical function, on the basis of the principles of systematic theology, and according to the condition of the Church at the time, and the general historical circumstances by which the Church is affected, is exercised by men of wide experience in the Church. The theory of these functions is constructed and discussed in the seminaries.

The theological faculties of the universities, on the other hand, in their relation to the Church, have the task of teaching theological science purely as theory, in order to afford to students, who have chosen the ministry as their calling, a scientific training, and to lay the necessary basis for the work to be carried on by the Church seminaries. While the seminaries are purely an affair of the Church, in the theological faculties, as in the public schools, the interests of Church and State have common ground. As their common interest demands religious instruction in the public schools, so the State, as well as the Church, demands the scientific culture of the pastors of the Churches which it recognises. In consideration for the Churches, therefore, the State receives the theological faculties into its universities, which have for their highest aim the fostering of science in its purely ethical tendency as directed to the investigation of truth. The administration of the theological faculties lies wholly with the State, since it supports them in the universities with its funds, and has, therefore, to see to it that they satisfy the general ends of the university. In this way regard may be had most readily to the claims of the confessional Churches, in so far as their theology is not opposed to the aims of the State: the spread of doctrines dangerous to the State cannot be allowed by the State to be carried on at its cost. The care of the evangelical Church for its theology coincides with the civil ends of the universities. The evangelical theological faculties have as their highest purpose, the investigation and knowledge of divine truth, and strive after its attainment,

with all the means of human science at their disposal. Like the other scientific faculties, with which they have inward and outward intercourse, they pursue their theologico-scientific ends by means of literary activity, by means of oral lectures, and especially by means of the seminaries co-ordinated with them, in which they introduce their students to independent scientific work under the separate branches of theology, and fit them for carrying forward the work of theological science. The practical seminaries, for the most part connected with the theological faculties, in which homiletical and catechetical exercises are prescribed, do not, in regard to this function, belong to the university. Their academical position could be secured only if they were conducted as seminaries for practical theology, and undertook the task of stimulating the students to scientific labours in the comprehensive department of practical theology. Only if the theological faculties fulfil their theoretico-scientific task, can they perfectly satisfy the demands of the Church, in qualifying pastors for the ministry, and conferring upon the official teachers of the Church that scientific qualification, without which their duties cannot be discharged. Faithfully adhering to its task, theology as a university science will maintain its own legitimate and proper place alongside of the other sciences, and will be to all time an ornament of the German Church. But, although it contributes its most signal service to the Church, as its most perfect and most living expression, it is never to be forgotten, that life in God is more than knowledge of Him, and that even theology, with all that it has wrought, is of value only as the outcome of a life that is lived in God.

INDEX.

ALLIACUS against errors of scholasticism, i. 34.
Alsted, traces of scholasticism in his Encyclopædia, i. 49.
Ambrose on clerical culture, i. 21.
Anselm and the beginnings of scholasticism, ii. 225.
Anti-scholastic theologians, value of their protest, i. 37.
Apocalypse, Eschatology of, ii. 172.
Apocalyptic literature of the Jews, Rise of, ii. 134.
Apologetics, Place of, in encyclopædia, i. 426–430.
Apologetics, relation to systematic theology, ii. 305.
Apologies as scientific defence of Christianity, i. 192.
Apologies in the early Church, ii. 200.
Apostles' Creed, Origin of, ii. 201.
Apostolics or science of missions, ii. 411.
Aramaic, Relation of, to Hebrew, ii. 30.
Archæology, Jewish, ii. 52; division of, 53; literature of, 56.
Art in the mediæval Church, ii. 317.
Asceticism and casuistry—the true and false, ii. 371.
Augustine de doctrina christiana, i. 22.
Authenticity of biblical writings, ii. 48.

BACON, Roger, protests against prevailing errors, i. 31.
Bahrdt on theological studies at universities, i. 68.
Beginnings of encyclopædia, i. 19.
Bertholdt's Encyclopædia criticized, i. 82.
Biblical criticism, ii. 40; literature of, 50.
Biblical theology, ii. 101; literature of, 174.
Biedermann, Theological standpoint of, i. 295, ii. 331.
Bonaventura on manifold sense of Scripture, i. 30.
Bruno Bauer exaggerated Strauss's principles, i. 261.
Buchner's Encyclopædia from R. C. standpoint, i. 152.
Buddæus, orthodox theologian favouring pietism, i. 59.

CALIXTUS' theory of tradition, i. 47.
Calov, Exposition of course of theological study by, i. 42.
Canon of Scripture, Formation of, ii. 4.
Cassiodorus, theological guide for his monks, i. 22.
Casuistry no place in Protestantism, ii. 371.
Catechetics, Nature and scope of, ii. 404.
Charity in early Christian Church, ii. 413.
Christ, World-wide significance of, ii. 352.
Christ of the synoptic Gospels, ii. 146.
Christ, object of worship in the Christian Church, ii. 325.
Christian faith in relation to theology, i. 191.
Christian religion the subject of theology, i. 187.
Christianity as a historical religion, i. 188.
Christianity, Earliest beginning of, ii. 155.
Christianity, Causes of spread of, ii. 190.
Christianity the ideal religion, ii. 324.
Christology of Synoptic Gospels, ii. 161; of Paul, 163; of Epistle to the Hebrews, 165; of the Fourth Gospel, 166; of the Church, 351.
Chrysostom's contribution to encyclopædia, i. 21.
Church in relation to theology, i. 190.
Church in relation to the kingdom of God, ii. 357.
Church as visible and invisible, ii. 358.
Church history, Importance of, ii. 179; periods in, 187; literature of, 255.
Church law, ii. 394.
Church polity, ii. 391.
Church and State, ii. 244, 396.
Chytræus assigns a high place to Scripture, i. 40.

Circle of the sciences, i. 167.
Clarisse as encyclopædist follows Mursinna, i. 83.
Classification of theological departments the task of encyclopædia, i. 165.
Collegial system, ii. 395.
Commentary as part of exegesis, ii. 95.
Constitution of the Church, History of, ii. 61; theory of, 391.
Constitutional development in early Church, ii. 191.
Co-operation of freedom and grace in man's salvation, ii. 356.
Councils, Decisions of Christian doctrine by, ii. 202.
Creeds, Earliest forms of, ii. 201.
Criticism, Biblical, ii. 40.
Crusades of Middle Ages, ii. 221.
Culture, History of Christian, ii. 267.

DANZ'S Encyclopædia, Relation of, to Schleiermacher, i. 95.
Daub influenced by Schelling, i. 116.
Decline of Jewish literature and nationality, ii. 71.
Deism in England, Rise of, ii. 242.
Deutsch-katholicismus purely negative, i. 268.
Didactic Hebrew literature of later period, ii. 136.
Didactics, Ecclesiastical, ii. 417.
Discipline in church, Extravagant demands for, ii. 199.
Distribution of theology, Principle of, i. 297.
Distribution of theologic, i. 182.
Dobmayer's Encyclopædia valuable for R. C. Church, i. 147.
Doctrinal system of Epistle of James, ii. 168.
Doctrines, History of, ii. 271.
Doedes' Encyclopädie, i. 124; view of place of methodology, 181.
Dogmatic tendency of century following Reformation, i. 441.
Dogmatics, Idea of, ii. 330; various methods of, 335; division adopted, 339; literature of, 361.
Dominicans, Rise of the order of, ii. 212; doctrinal position of, 226.
Drey influenced by Schleiermacher, i. 149.
Drummond's introduction to study of theology, i. 139.
Du Pin's view of theological study, i. 56.

EFFICACY of sacraments, Romish doctrine of, ii. 214.
Egypt, Sojourn of Israel in, ii. 63.
Elders as church officers, ii. 392.
Encyclopædia, word used generally, i. 167; applied to theological sciences, 171.
Episcopal system in Church law, ii. 395.
Episcopate, struggle with the Papacy, ii. 213.
Erasmus points out errors of scholasticism, i. 35; replies to Latomus, 52.
Erhardt influenced by Schelling, i. 116.
Erigena, his doctrinal position, ii. 224.
Ernesti's institutio interpretis N. T., i. 64.
Eschatology of Apocalypse, ii. 172; of the Church, 358.
Ethical view of sin, ii. 368; goal in the kingdom of God, 373.
Ethics, Idea of Christian, ii. 362; Rothe's view of, 363; past neglect of, 365; Martensen's distribution of, 366; principles of, 367; literature of, 373.
Exegesis, ii. 91; as commentary, 95; as paraphrase, 96; as translation, 97; history of, 99.
Exegetical theology, ii. 3–176; distribution of, 3, 11.
Exilian period of Jewish history, ii. 67.
Extra-canonical writings, ii. 9.

FAITH, Doctrine of Paul and James regarding, ii. 170.
Faith in relation to theology, i. 191.
Family, Ethical significance of the, ii. 369.
Fathers, Biblical quotations in the early, ii. 45.
Febronianism, movement in R. C. Church, i. 147.
Feuerbach makes man all, i. 266.
Fœderal method in dogmatics, ii. 336.
Formal method of encyclopædia condemned, i. 166, 169.
Fourfold distribution of theology, i. 298, 301.
Fourfold sense of Scripture, i. 29, 30.
Franciscans, Rise of order of, ii. 212; doctrinal position of, 226.
Francke's exposition of pietism, i. 48.
Frank's system of Christian certainty, i. 277.
Free Churches of Germany extremely negative, i. 267.
Freedom and grace, Co-operation of, in man's salvation, ii. 356.

GAUPP'S view of practical theology, ii. 380.

General part of theologic, its idea, i. 182; its treatment, 187.
Gerbert, a Romanist opposed to scholasticism, i. 143.
Gerhard, Exposition of theological course of study by, i. 42.
German review of Hegelians of the left, i. 265.
German Catholicism, i. 268.
Gerson opposed errors of scholasticism, i. 34.
Gnosticism in the early Church, ii. 200.
God, Gradual historical development of notion of, ii. 116.
God is knowable, asserted by Hegel, i. 249; views of Mansel, etc., 250.
Gothic church architecture, ii. 217.
Grammatico-historical method of interpretation, ii. 21.
Greek of N. T. or Hellenistic, ii. 36; literature of, 38.
Greek Church, Early theology of, ii. 205.
Greek philosophy overthrows Greek religion, ii. 118; Roman religion, 119.
Grimm, Remarks on criticisms by, i. 415–425.

HAGENBACH'S Encyclopædia reviewed, i. 97; its tenth edition, 101; English adaptation of, 103; fourfold distribution adopted, 299; place assigned to apologetics in, 427.
Halle Review, organ of left Hegelians, i. 265.
Harless' Theological Encyclopædia, i. 108; criticized by Doedes, 110.
Harnack's view of practical theology, ii. 381.
Heathen religions, ii. 109; literature of, 109.
Hebraism, its relation to religions of nature, ii. 141; periods of, 120.
Hebrew literature, Characteristics of, ii. 86; under the kings, 125.
Hebrew philology, Literature of, ii. 35.
Hebrew prophecy, Characteristics of, ii. 126.
Hebrew religion, Beginnings of, ii. 122; elements in, 321; defects of, 323.
Hegel's encyclopædic treatment of religion, i. 117; his speculative philosophy, 245; his philosophy of religion, 247; attachment to dogmatic form of Christianity, 251, 255.
Hegel and Schleiermacher compared, i. 279.
Hegelians of the extreme left, i. 265.
Hegelingen, contemptuous name for extreme Hegelians, i. 257.
Hellenistic Greek, ii. 36.
Herder's letters on study of theology, i. 71; restores O. T. to place of honour, 72.
Hermeneutics, Theory of, ii. 13; historical principle in, 19; literature of, 25.
Hierarchical development under Gregory VII., ii. 211.
Historical theology, ii. 177–296.
History of encyclopædia, Place of, i. 17.
History of Jews, ii. 58.
Hodge's estimate of Schleiermacher's theology, i. 242.
Hofmann's Encyclopædia, Brief outline of, i. 129; examination of his theology, 334–377.
Holy Scripture and word of God distinguished, i. 210.
Homiletics, Theory of, ii. 211.
Hugo St. Victor's Eruditio Didascalica, i. 27.
Hyperius' survey of theological studies, i. 41.

IDEA of theological encyclopædia, i. 169.
Ideal life in kingdom of God, ii. 370.
Illumination opposed by rationalism as superficial, i. 227; relation of, to Semler, 68.
Immanence in religions of nature, ii. 316.
Immortality, Proofs of, ii. 360.
Infallibility dogma pronounced, ii. 248; disproved by history, 240.
Inquisition in regard to doctrinal beliefs, ii. 229.
Inspiration, Old Church doctrine of, i. 209.
Introduction to theologic, Proper contents of, i. 182.
Introduction, Idea of biblical, ii. 77; as history of biblical literature, 84.
Irenics, Relation of, to systematic theology, ii. 305.
Isagogics, Biblical, ii. 75; literature of, 90.
Isidorus on etymologies, i. 24.
Israel under judges, ii. 65; under kings, 67; during exile, 69.

JANSENISM, Significance of, ii. 240.
Jesuits, Opposition to, in Prussia, ii. 248.
Jesus, Religious influence of, ii. 144; religious development of, 149.
Jewish history, ii. 58; periods of, 61; literature of, 69.
Josephinism, its influence on R. C. theology, i. 147.

KANT as opponent of the Church

theology, i. 73; subordinates religion to morals, 74.
Kienlen's Encyclopædia in French and German, i. 108.
Kingdom of God, ii. 153; in relation to the Church as ideal, 357.
Klee, Roman Catholic spirit in his Encyclopædia, i. 152.
Kleuker, Criticism of his encyclopædic arrangement, i. 80.
Knighthood, Order of, in mediæval Church, ii. 221.
Kübel, Place assigned to apologetics by, i. 428.

LAGARDE's idea of natural religion, i. 315.
Lange (J. P.) gives a twofold division of encyclopædia, i. 111; view of practical theology, ii. 382.
Lange (Lobegott), Tinge of rationalism in Encyclopædia of, i. 110.
Language and religion, Relations of, ii. 112.
Latomus against Erasmus, i. 52.
Laurentius recommends scholastic theology, i. 53.
Leibnitz endeavours to reconcile reason and revelation, i. 220.
Lessing opposes the rationalism of the Illumination, i. 71.
Life of Jesus, Modern treatment of, ii. 145.
Linguistics, Biblical, ii. 26.
Lipsius, Theological standpoint of, i. 288; division of dogmatics, ii. 331, 338.
Liturgics, Meaning of term, ii. 401.
Local method in dogmatics, ii. 335.
Lutheran orthodoxy, its view of Scripture, i. 45; restored in modern Church, 270.
Lutheran Church, Early controversies in, ii. 237; separation of Lutheran and Reformed Churches, 245.

MABILLON's traité des études monastique, i. 55.
Manuscripts of Old Testament, ii. 43; of New Testament, 44.
Marriage, Ethical significance of, ii. 369.
Martensen's division of Christian ethics, ii. 366.
Martin of Lausanne gives threefold division of theology, i. 139.
Material method of treatment of encyclopædia, i. 169, 343.
Means of grace, ii. 357.
Mediæval doctrine a reproduction of Old Church theology, ii. 223.
Mediation schemes between rationalism and supernaturalism, i. 229.
Mediation theology, i. 275.
Melanchthon's brevis discendæ theologiæ ratio, i. 38.
Merits, Romish doctrine of, ii. 216.
Messiah, Jesus the Jewish, ii. 150.
Messianic kingdom, Characteristics of, ii. 152.
Methodology not to be separated from encyclopædia, i. 181.
Middle Ages, Theology of the, ii. 207.
Missions, First development of, ii. 254; history of, 257; literature of, 259; theory of, 410.
Moll's arrangement of practical theology, ii. 380.
Monkish idea of morality, ii. 219.
Monks, Importance of, in history of civilisation, ii. 220.
Moral decay of Church and people in Middle Ages, ii. 222.
Moses, Influence of, on Hebrew religion, ii. 123.
Mosheim, Practical aim of his treatise on theological method, i. 61.
Müller (Max) on religious notions of the ancients, ii. 114.
Mursinna gives name of encyclopædia to our science, i. 62.
Mystical sense of Scripture, ii. 17.
Mysticism distinguished from orthodox theology, i. 216; rises on ruin of scholasticism, ii. 228; appears in a practical form in the Church, 240.

NATURAL science and theology, i. 322.
Naturalism, the end of the left Hegelian extreme, i. 268.
Nature-religion, History of, ii. 316; origin of, 318; worship of, 319; higher forms of, 320.
Nicolaus de Clemangis, De studio theologico, i. 35.
Nitzsch's view of practical theology, ii. 380.
Noack misconceives theological encyclopædia, i. 122; his speculative science of religion, 124.
Nominalism wrecks scholasticism, ii. 227.
Nösselt on preliminary theological studies, i. 76.

OBERTHUR, importance of his Encyclopædia for Roman Catholic Church, i. 145.
Object of theologic, 172.

Orders of friars, dangerous to Papacy, ii. 212.
Organization of the Church, ii. 390.
Orthodox theology defined, i. 205; in Roman Catholic Church, 206; theory of Scripture, 211; modern, 273.

PÆDEUTICS, Ecclesiastical, ii. 421.
Palestine, Natural history of, ii. 54.
Pananthropism of Feuerbach, i. 267.
Pantheism in speculative theology, i. 285.
Paraphrase as work of exegete, ii. 96.
Pastoral theology, Nature and scope of, ii. 407.
Patristics, Definition of, ii. 287; literature of, 291.
Patrology or lives of the fathers, ii. 290.
Paul, Christology of, ii. 163; and James' views of faith, 170.
Pelt, his relation to Schleiermacher, i. 105; his view of practical theology, ii. 399.
Pfaff, Pietistic elements in theology of, i. 60.
Philo, his religious philosophical system, ii. 138.
Philosophy, its relation to the positive sciences, i. 199; relation to theology and Church, 201.
Photius' quarrel with Rome, ii. 209.
Pietism protest against orthodox dogmatism, i. 47; relation of, to mysticism, 217; its movements within the Church, ii. 240.
Planck's theological attitude, i. 77; arrangement of encyclopædia, 78.
Polemics, relation to systematic theology, ii. 305.
Polity, Principles of Church, ii. 391.
Pope, Bishop of Rome becomes, ii. 391.
Positive science, Meaning of term, i. 198; theology a, 198.
Possevinus' Bibliotheca selecta, i. 54.
Practical theology, Idea of, ii. 374; historical sketches, 375–387; distribution of, 388.
Preparation for Christianity, ii. 143.
Proofs of being of God, ii. 345.
Protestantism, Worship of, contrasted with the Romish, ii. 249; relation of, to morals and political freedom, 252.
Providence, Christian doctrine of, ii. 344.
Psalms, Theology of the, ii. 142.
Psychological origin of religion, ii. 308.
Puseyism, German, i. 275.

RABANUS MAURUS' Institutio Clericorum, i. 26.
Rationalism, Rise of, i. 63, 219; development in Germany, 220.
Rationalistic theory of Scripture, i. 223; services rendered by, 226.
Reaction against extreme negative tendencies, i. 270.
Reconciliation of man with God, ii. 350; in Christ, 355.
Reformation, how it affected theology, i. 38; causes of, ii. 231; overthrows sacerdotalism and hierarchism, 233; its conservative character, 235.
Reformed Church constitution, ii. 245.
Relation of theology to Church, i. 308.
Religion, History of biblical, ii. 103; comprehensive conception of, 107; of nature, 111; distinguishing principle in, the idea of God, 115; theory of, 307; Biedermann and Lipsius on nature and origin of, 310; elements in, 314; history of, 315; history of religion of nature, 316; history of Hebrew, 321.
Repentance of sin, ii. 355.
Resurrection, Origin of story of Christ's, ii. 157; development of doctrine in Church, 158.
Reuterdahl in encyclopædia follows Schleiermacher, i. 108.
Revelation of God to man, first part of dogmatics, ii. 339.
Ritschl, Theological standpoint of, i. 287; school of, 293.
Ritual of the Church, Development of the, ii. 196.
Romanism, Ideal tendencies in modern, ii. 243.
Romanizing tendencies among English aristocracy, ii. 247.
Ronge founder of Deutsch-katholicismus, i. 268.
Rosenkranz' relation to Hegel, i. 118; threefold division of Theological Encyclopædia, 119.
Rothe's Theological Encyclopædia, General principles of, i. 133; threefold division of theology, 134; detailed examination of his system, 377–413; conception of ethics, ii. 362.
Ruge, a leader of the Hegelian extreme left, i. 265.

SACRAMENTS, Number of fixed, ii. 214; as opus operatum, 215.
Sacrificial death of Christ, ii. 351–353.
Schelling on method of academical

studies, i. 112; his view of value of biblical writings, 113.
Schenkel, Theological standpoint of, i. 287.
Schleiermacher, his brief outline of study of theology, i. 85; his general view of theology criticized, 89; his relation to previous theological systems, 231; idea of dogmatics, 234; services to theology, 236; his attitude one of compromise, 239; relations of his philosophy and theology, 240; compared with Hegel, 279; influence on modern theology, 287; view of practical theology, ii. 376.
Scholastic theology, Characteristics of, i. 30; as orthodox theology of Roman Catholic Church, 207; beginning of, in Anselm, ii. 225.
Science of Christian religion, the subject of encyclopædia, i. 162.
Scotus Erigena, his doctrinal position, ii. 224.
Scribes, Rise of Jewish, ii. 133.
Scripture, subject of exegesis, ii. 92; a source for systematic theology, 327.
Selneccer assigns high place to Scripture, i. 40.
Seminaries, theological, ii. 422.
Semitic languages, Distribution of, ii. 27.
Semler, his influence on theological study, i. 64; opposed to dogmatism, 66; estimate of, 68.
Services of theology to the Church, i. 309; to members of the Church, 313.
Sin, Christian doctrine of, ii. 347; original, 348; its reign in man's life, 368.
Smith (H. B.), Introduction to Christian theology, i. 141.
Social Christian morality, ii. 372.
Social science of the Church, ii. 413.
Society as an ethical power, ii. 369.
Speculative theology and the absolute, i. 244; produced from speculative philosophy, 252; hurtful tendencies of, 255.
Spener and beginnings of pietism, i. 47.
State, its relation to the Church, ii. 396; as an ethical power, 369.
Statistics of the Church, ii. 292; literature of, 295.
Staudenmaier, most profound of Roman Catholic encyclopædists, i. 153.
Stäudlin's Theological Encyclopædia, i. 82.
Strauss, ablest representative of Hegelian extreme left, i. 259; attitude antichristian, 259; makes speculative truth and Christianity inconsistent, 263.
Supernatural theology, Rise of, i. 213.
Survey of history of theological encyclopædia, i. 158.
Symbolics, ii. 277; literature of, 284.
Symbolology, ii. 417.
Synoptic Gospels, Christ of the, ii. 146, 161.
Systematic theology, Idea of, ii. 297; divisions of, 301; relation to Scripture, 327.

TABLE of schemes for encyclopædia, i. 307.
Task of encyclopædia to represent theology as science, i. 164.
Territorial system in Church law, ii. 395.
Tertullian opposed to philosophy, i. 205.
Testimonium spiritus sancti, i. 208.
Textual criticism, ii. 43.
Theologian necessarily a Christian man, i. 196.
Theologic, name proposed for encyclopædia, i. 171; as methodology, 179; distribution of, 182.
Theology, Subject of, i. 187; as a positive science, 198; relation of Church to, 190; relation of, to Church, 308; to other sciences, 315; relation to philosophy, 327; to jurisprudence, 326.
Theory of religion, ii. 307.
Threefold distribution of theology, i. 301.
Tittmann's view of encyclopædia, i. 78.
Transcendence in Hebraism and Christianity, ii. 321.
Translation as work of exegete, ii. 97.
Tridentine reform in the Romish Church, ii. 239.
Trinitarian scheme of doctrine adopted by Hegel, ii. 251; in distributioof dogmatics, ii. 336.
Trinity, Christian doctrine of, ii. 341.
Twofold distribution of theology, i. 305.

UNION, Opposition of orthodox Lutherans to the, i. 272.
University faculties of theology, ii. 423.
Uses of theologic, i. 172.

VARIATIONS in the biblical text, ii. 46.
Vicarious sacrifice of Christ, Christian doctrine of, ii. 352.
Vincent of Beauvais' bibliotheca mundi, i. 28.
Virgin, Origin of worship of, ii. 216; immaculate conception proclaimed, 251.

WALCH, pietistic element in his theology, i. 61.
Werenfels protests against dogmatic treatment of Scripture, i. 50.
Werner's History of Catholic Theology referred to, i. 143.
Wisdom of Hebrews, Literature of, ii. 129; wisdom personified in Hebrew literature, 131.
Wislicenus, leader of extremely negative party, i. 267.
Wolf's endeavour to reconcile reason and revelation, i. 220.
Wolfenbüttel fragments, their influence on development of rationalism, i. 221.
Worship, Development of forms of, ii. 196; history of, 263; literature of, 265; theory of, 400.

YOUNG Hegelians, followers of extreme negative tendencies, i. 256.

ZEZSCHWITZ's view of practical theology, ii. 382.
Zöckler's Handbook of the theological sciences, i. 135; on modern theological tendencies, 318; on relation of theology and philosophy to other sciences, 324; place assigned to apologetics, 428.

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